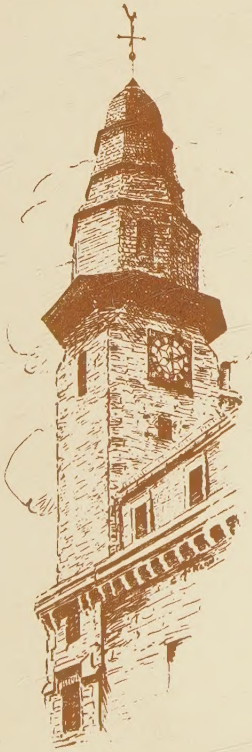
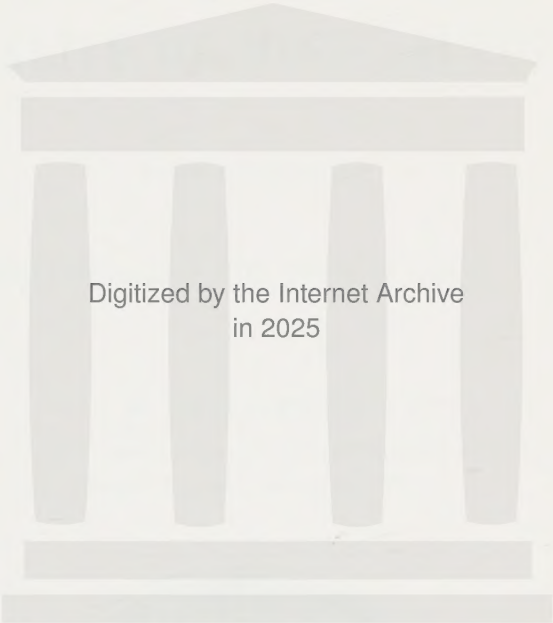
History Of The Regality Of Musselburgh



BY JAMES PATERSON

To Isobel
from Ilum.
7th. Feb. 1987.


Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2025

https://archive.org/details/historyofregalit0000jame

HISTORY

OF THE

REGALITY OF MUSSELBURGH,

WITH NUMEROUS

EXTRACTS FROM THE TOWN RECORDS.

BY JAMES PATERSON,

AUTHOR OF "KAY'S EDINBURGH PORTRAITS," "THE CONTEMPORARIES OF BURNS,"
"HISTORY AND FAMILIES OF AYRSHIRE," ETC.

Remploy

MUSSELBURGH:

JAMES GORDON, 15, BRIDGE STREET.

MDCCCLVII.

First published 1857

This Remploy Reprint Edition 1984.

ISBN 07066 0932-8

Printed and Bound by
Remploy Ltd.,
1 Boston Road, Leicester LE4 1BB.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
PREFACE,	v
ETYMOLOGY,	11
ROMAN OCCUPATION,	12
FIRST NOTICE OF INVERESK AND MUSSELBURGH IN CHARTERS,	19
TRANSMISSION OF THE PROPERTY,	24
RIGHTS AND PRIVILEGES OF THE REGALITY,	29
REVENUE OF THE BURGH,	37
HOW THE TOWN'S INTEREST IN THE MILLS WAS ACQUIRED,	41
THE HARBOUR AND CUSTOMS,	48
INCORPORATED TRADES, MANUFACTURES, FISHINGS, ETC.,	56
THE FISHERY,	67
SCHOOLS AND EDUCATION,	71
DESCRIPTION OF THE BURGH,	78
ST MICHAEL'S CHURCH,	89
LORETTO,	94
MODERN PLACES OF WORSHIP,	108
HISTORICAL MEMORIALS,	109
CONDITION AND PROGRESS OF THE BURGH,	127
THE POOR,	132
AMUSEMENTS,	135
PROPERTY AND INCOME OF THE BURGH,	142
REVENUE OF THE BURGH,	144
EARLY COMMERCE,	146
GRAIN, AGRICULTURE, COLLIERIES,	147
EXTENT AND APPEARANCE OF THE PARISH,	153
LITERARY AND OTHER DISTINGUISHED PERSONS,	157

PAGE

MAGGIE DICKSON, ... 162

HOUSES ON THE EAST SIDE OF THE ESK:—

CARBERRY TOWER, ... 165

TOWER OF FALSYDE, ... 167

SHERIFFHALL, ... 169

SMETOUN, ... ib.

INVERESK, ... 170

WALLIFORD, ... 173

DRUMMORE, ... ib.

HALLIS WALLIS, ... ib.

WHITEHILL, ... 174

PINKIE HOUSE, ... 175

HOUSES ON THE WEST OF THE ESK:—

NEWTON, ... 186

MONKTON, ... ib.

MONKTONHALL, ... ib.

STONYHILL, ... 187

NEW HAILES, ... 192

COUSLAND CASTLE, ... ib.

THE BATTLE OF PINKIE, ... 193

CARBERRY HILL, ... 209

MONUMENTAL INSCRIPTIONS IN THE CHURCHYARD OF INVERESK, . 211

PREFACE.

THE idea of the present publication originated with the Publisher, who conceived that it might be interesting, not only to the inhabitants, but to strangers visiting the district. Most watering places have their *Guides* or *Histories;* and, in point of historical association, there are few more entitled than Musselburgh to be so distinguished. It may be asked, at the same time, in what respect can a history of the burgh be of importance apart from that of the country at large? Its antiquities and battle-fields are associated with national events, and as such ought to be familiar to the general reader. True, it is not to be expected that the annals of any particular district —boasting of nothing more than a purely provincial character— are likely to add anything surprising or new to historical fact; but they, at the same time, may be productive of illustrations nearly of equal value, enabling the student of history to appreciate and understand what is recorded. National history—even the most diffuse with which we are acquainted—is no more than a broad-handed sketch, and rarely dips into those minuter details affecting communities. But it is from these details that the just

bearing of public events is to be discovered, and the manners and circumstances of the people ascertained.

So much is this acknowledged, that detached contributions like the present are encouraged everywhere—in England, perhaps, more than in Scotland—and it is generally conceded that history—genuine history—is only to be written when the charter chests of long-existing communities, as well as of religious houses. and those ancient families, whose ancestors have been active participators in the great national dramas of the past, have been thoroughly ransacked. Much light has already been thrown upon the last two great eras in this country—the Reformation, including the Cromwellian period, and the Revolution—by the opening up of previously hidden sources of information. The once popular and still classic History of Scotland, by Robertson, for example, has been wholly cancelled by the greater researches of Tytler. That the work of excavation, however, is not yet by any means complete, we have numerous recent proofs in the sketchy, well-written, but inaccurate History of England by Macaulay. The laboured defence of King William, in reference to the massacre of Glencoe, by that ingenious author, for instance, has been wholly upset by the production of one or two documents from the charter chest of Breadalbane! It is thus extremely dangerous for any writer to undertake history without a thorough knowledge of facts, which his own or the researches of others may have placed within his reach.

But apart from the importance of local, as contributing to a right understanding of national history, it must have its interest

and its use in a more limited sense. It surely must be gratifying, if not useful, as it may also prove, to be made acquainted with the origin and progress—in as far as that is to be ascertained—of the community with which we are identified. To know by whom it was cradled and privileged in its infancy—by whom and by what laws it was governed—what was its position in relation to other communities—what its early trade, its sources of income, its pastimes, and amusements; in short, everything which contemporaneous authority, and its own written records, can elucidate, add, in a pleasurable degree, to the information of those who may be called upon to administer its present affairs, or contribute to its prosperity by their talents or industry. To pass and repass daily those remains of ancient times—those venerable buildings which may have graced or strengthened the position of our ancestors—without knowing when, by whom, or for what purpose they were constructed, must be a punishment to the inquisitive and intelligent; and to gaze upon those fields where national conflicts have been lost or won, without knowing when, by whom, or for what cause they were fought, is to live in a state of intellectual blindness, not to be endured except by the most illiterate.

The Author is sensible, at the same time, that many of his readers may be disappointed with the work. It deals too much in matters of fact to attract the light reader, and he confesses to having aimed more at the elucidation of ancient than of modern affairs. The nature of the undertaking did not admit of a continuous narrative, which is generally preferred. Still, he hopes

his researches will not altogether fail in point of novelty and interest, even to the most superficial; and he flatters himself that, besides collecting together almost all that former writers have advanced in reference to Musselburgh, he has succeeded in culling from the town records and other original sources, not a little altogether new. In progressing with his task, he felt astonished at the mis-statements of the various printed works which he found it necessary to consult, and not the least satisfactory portion of his labour has been the correction of these.

It may perhaps be necessary briefly to explain what is meant by a "*Regality*," although this might be clearly enough gleaned from the history itself. A *regality* is "a territorial jurisdiction granted by the king, with lands given *in liberam regalitatem*; and conferring on the persons receiving it, although commoners, the title of *Lords of Regality*." The lands constituting the Regality of Musselburgh were conferred on the monks of Dunfermline as early as the days of Malcolm Caenmore and David I. By the charter of the latter they had baronial jurisdiction over these lands, which jurisdiction they afterwards had enlarged to a regality. A regality thus conveyed greater privileges than a mere barony. There are in this country, *burghs of barony*, *burghs of regality*, and *royal burghs*. The first held of a baron, and the latter two of the king, the difference between regalities and royal burghs consisting in certain privileges, more limited in the one than the other. These privileges were considerably infringed upon; first, by the Act of Union, secondly, by the abolition of feudal jurisdictions, and thirdly, by the Reform

Bill. There were numerous regalities in Scotland, many of them altogether unconnected with burghs, certain lands being clubbed together under that denomination. Besides a considerable revenue, it conferred additional power and influence on the feudal superior, and became an object of ambition. In 1590, after the Reformation, the lands and regality of Musselburgh were conferred on Lord Thirlstane; and in 1709, the superiority was sold by the Earl of Lauderdale to the Duchess of Buccleuch. When feudal jurisdictions were abolished in 1747, the Duke of Buccleuch claimed £3000 for the Regality of Musselburgh; but for that and other claims he only received £3400.

We can hardly refrain from adverting to the prosperity of Musselburgh as a community. The census of 1851, compared with that of 1831, no doubt shows a decrease of 308 over the entire parish; but this was the case generally, both in England and Scotland, in rural parishes. Emigration, and the enlarging of farms, had much to do with this state of matters. But, so far as Musselburgh as a town is concerned, there must have been a considerable increase of population since 1851, in which year it amounted to 7092. The various staple employments are in a healthy and vigorous state, and within the present year, the net manufactory of the Messrs Stuart alone must have added upwards of 300 to the number of inhabitants. Both the houses and shops are much better let, and a greater influx of sea-bathers was observed this season than formerly. Indeed, we are surprised that Musselburgh—from the salubrity of the air, its light soil, and excellent springs—should not be of much greater resort as a

watering-place. It is within easy access of the sea, but not quite so close to it as to be disagreeable, and the walks all round, along the coast, and in the interior, are of the most exhilarating description. The town itself, on both sides of the water, consists of open and spacious streets, clean and well paved, and the houses and shops are of that mixed kind which blend in pleasing variety the character of the city with the rural demesne of ancient times. Whatever Fisherrow and the fishing community may have been when former writers referred to them, we can now say that the picture is reversed. There are many well-to-do and respectable individuals amongst them; and, as a body, they are inferior to none of the same class anywhere.

We have only to return our thanks to Mr Lees, the Town-Clerk, for his kind permission to look over the records in his keeping; and in the use we have made of them, we trust that offence will have been given to no one. Our object was to select only such passages as might be curious or useful.

Musselburgh, October 1857.

HISTORY

OF THE

REGALITY OF MUSSELBURGH.

ETYMOLOGY.

The name of the parish, *Inveresk*, in which the Regality of Musselburgh is situated, is of Celtic derivation, and signifies the mouth or confluence of the Esk. It was anciently written *Infresk*, *Inneresk*, *Enderask*, and *Undreske*. According to the theory of Chalmers, in his *Caledonia*, of the Scoto-Irish Gaelic overspreading the topographical language of the ancient inhabitants, it would originally have been called *Aber*-Esk; but there is no evidence that it ever was so styled. The Fergusian Scots from Ireland can hardly be said to have crossed the *Scots water*—the Frith of Forth—in the reign of Malcolm Caenmore, who held his court at Dunfermline—so that the name *Inver*, which many places in Scotland bear, was, in all probability, imposed by the British tribes, before they were driven out of Lothian by the Northumbrians. This is countenanced by the fact that there are other names in the district, such as Carberry (*Caerbairin*), Cockpen, Dreghorn, Dalkeith, Niddry (Nidref), Roslin, &c., of undoubted British origin. By the Saxons, according to Simeon of Durham, in the seventh century, it was called *Esk-muthe ;* but their brief and

fluctuating possession of Lothian made little change in its topographical nomenclature.

The Esk is formed of two considerable streams. "The waters of South and North Esk," as described in the Macfarlane MSS., "at the foot of the wood of Dalkeith, are joined together in one, and about two miles from thence, at Pinkie, fall into Forth. . . . North Esk takes its beginning upon the south of Pentland Hills, a little above the Hollis, and descending northward by the space of eight or ten miles, at the foot of Dalkeith wood is joyned to South Esk. . . . South Esk takes its beginning or source from Morpet Hills, and descending northward by the space of ten miles, is joyned with North Esk at the foot of Dalkeith wood."

ROMAN OCCUPATION.

That the mouth of the Esk was the seat of population during the British period of our history, as well as that of the Northumbrian Saxon occupation of the Ottadinian district, seems at least probable. At all events, it is satisfactorily known that the Romans fortified the hill of Inveresk, which flanks Musselburgh on the south; and as they rarely constructed strengths save where the population was comparatively dense, so that the natives might be kept in check, it is probable that Musselburgh was a place of resort even in the days of our British ancestors.

The church of Inveresk now occupies the rising ground understood to have been the Roman prætorium. "History assures us," says Dr Carlisle in his account of the parish of Inveresk,* "that they had a station here, and repeated discoveries point out the spot where the prætorium was built. It was undoubtedly on the summit of the hill where the church now stands, and included that beautiful villa (Inveresk House) that lies to the eastward of it. A hollow road, which, till about thirty five years

* Old Statistical Account.

ago,* passed within three yards of that villa, having most likely been the fosse of the prætorium. It is now included in the garden and pleasure-ground. The church, of which the antiquity is not known, and which is called St Michael's of Inveresk, has probably been built out of the ruins of that ancient edifice."

Randolph, ambassador at the Scottish court in the reign of Elizabeth, writes as follows, to the Earl of Bedford, in reference to certain Roman remains then discovered at Inveresk :—

Edenburgh, 7th April 1565.

"For certayne ther is founde a cave besyds Muskelbourge, stonding upon a number of pillers, made of tyle stones curieuslye wroughte, signefyinge great antiquetie, and straynge monuments found in the same. Thys comyethe to my knowledge, besyds the comon reporte, by th' assurance of Alexander Clerke, who was ther to see yt, w^ch^ I wyll do myself w^th^in these three or four dayes, and wryte unto yor Ldship the more certayntie thereof, for I wyll leave nothynge of it unseen."

Again, on the 18th April, Randolph writes to Sir William Cecil :—

"The cave found besyds Muskelbourge semeth to be some monument of the Romaynes, by a stone that was found, w^th^ these words greven upon hym, *Appoloni Granno Q. S. Sabinianus Proc. Aug.* Dyvers shorte pillers sette upright upon the grounde, covered w^th^ tyle stones, large and thyucke, torning into dyvers angles and certayne places lyke unto chynes† to awoid smoke. Thys is all I cane gather therof."

The inscription, as more accurately given by Napier of Merchiston, the celebrated inventor of the *Logarithms*, in his "Commentary on the Apocalypse," and copied by Camden in his *Britannia*, is as follows :—

* This was printed in 1793.

† Supposed to be a contraction for chimneys.

A.P.O.L.L.I.N.I.
G.R.A.N.N.O.
Q.L.V.S.I.V.S.
S.A.B.I.N.I.A.
N.V.S.
P.R.O.C.
A.V.G.
V.S.S.L.V.M.

Which, when amplified, would read thus: "Apollini Granico, Quintus Lucius Sabinianus, Proconsul Augusti, votum susceptum solvit, lubens merito."

With Camden and others it became a question who "Apollo Granus" was; but, as he suggested, *Granno* seems to have been an appellative derived from the Greek. Isidore designates the long locks of the Goths *granni*, and Homer describes the flowing locks of Apollo in a similar manner.

Dr Carlisle, continuing his account of the prætorium, says:—

"But if there had remained any doubt concerning the situation of this Roman fort, it was fully cleared up a few years ago (1783), when the proprietor of the villa had occasion to take two or three feet off the surface of his parterre, when there were discovered the floors and foundations of various buildings. The owner being absent, attending his duty in Parliament, the workmen were prevailed upon by the author of this account (Dr Carlisle) to clear the earth carefully away from one of them, and to leave the ruins standing for some time for the inspection of the curious. It was found to be a Roman bath of two rooms. The superstructure had been thrown down and removed, but the floor remained entire, and about six inches high of the wall of the smallest room, which was nine feet long and four and a half wide. There was a communication through the partition wall for water, by an earthen pipe. The other room was fifteen feet by nine. The floors of these, and of the other rooms, were covered with tarras uniformly laid on, about two inches thick. Below this coat there was a coarser sort of lime and gravel five inches deep,

laid upon unshapely and disjointed flags. This floor stood on pillars two feet high, some of stone, and some of circular bricks. The earth had been removed to come to a solid foundation, on which to erect the pillars. Under the tarras of the smallest room there was a coarser tarras, fully ten inches thick, which seemed intended to sustain or bear a more considerable fire under it than the *hypocaustum* of the largest room. There appeared to have been large fires under it, as the pillars were injured by them, and there was found a quantity of charcoal in perfect preservation.

"The *hypocaustum* of the larger room, or space under the tarrassed floor, was filled with earth, and with flues made of clay, which were laid everywhere between the rows of pillars, and were a little discoloured with smoke; a smaller degree of heat having been conveyed through them than through those under the other room. But these contrivances under the floors seem only to have been intended to preserve heat in the water, which had been carried warm from a kettle, built up or hung on brick-work, on one side of the largest room. This brick-work was much injured by strong fires, and was four feet square.

"This seems to have been a kind of building used by the Romans only for temporary use. The cement, or tarras, sufficiently proves by whom it was made, as the Roman composition of that kind is superior to any of later ages. It is remarkable that the tarras of the grand sewers under the city of Rome is of the same kind; and it is related by travellers, that in the very ancient buildings in the kingdom of Bengal, the very same sort has been used. Two medals were found among the ruins, now in the possession of Robert Colt, Esq., owner of the villa—one of gold, much defaced, which is supposed to be of Trajan; another of copper, on which the inscription is clear, *Diva Faustina.** There are traditional accounts, that in digging foundations of houses in Fisherrow, there have been found similar ruins of *hypocausta*, which afford a proof that this station was not merely military, but was a *colonia Romana or municipium;* that they had many

* In the second volume of the "Transactions of the Antiquarian Society of Edinburgh," there is a circumstantial account of the remains thus described, by Mr Adam Cardonell, accompanied by an engraving. It is not, however, so intelligible to the general reader.

houses and buildings near the sea, as well as their prætorium at Inveresk; and that one of their harbours on this side of the Frith was at Fisherrow. From that harbour, situated where there is one at present, there was a Roman causeway, (the traces of which remained within the memory of some still living), which led to their camp at Sheriff-hall, three miles S.W., and onwards to Borthwick."*

James Wedderburn, Esq., of Inveresk, writing in April 1783, to Mr Adam Cardonell, says:—

"A bowling-green westward (from Inveresk) was made some years ago, and floors of the same kind found on levelling the ground. A tree being dug up just now, still farther westward, by the summer-house, discovered large fragments of earthenware.

"In the road up the hill to the church I have found bricks, being lately dug up to make new steps; and in the church itself, some of the Roman bricks are built in with the stone. The vaults found in making the road were like subterraneous passages only. There has evidently been a space of 100 yards long, reaching from the wall of the court to the end of the bowling-green, and 23 feet wide, covered with their baths, as appears by their water-tight floors, &c., and very probably their buildings, 300 yards at least, as appears by their bricks, earthen-ware, &c., found from the road to the church.

"I am informed by the ploughmen, that there are pavements all along the whole ridge to Pinkie-burn, which resist the plough, and corn will not grow on it in dry seasons. From all circumstances, Inveresk hill appears to have been a great station."

Numerous clay-pipes and fragments of earthenware have been dug up from time to time. In the *New Statistical Account*, the late Dr Moir states that, "about ten years ago, when the practice of interring at the depth of twelve or fourteen feet became common at Inveresk church-yard, the grave-diggers came upon a Roman urn, which they unluckily broke to pieces. It was of *terra cotta*, strongly burnt, and glazed without and within, with

* Old Statistical Account.

a surmounting wreath, representing alternately flowers and figures. Part of the fragments are yet in the possession of Mr Ritchie, the sculptor, here."*

Dr Moir, who had paid considerable attention to the antiquities of his native district, was of opinion that "the whole northern slope of the hill (of Inveresk), bounded by Pinkie-burn on the one side, and by the river Esk on the other," had been covered with buildings. All along the hill Roman coins have been from time to time dug up. "The Shirehaugh," he adds, "lying immediately below the village of Inveresk, and extending south-west to the base of the hill on which the village of Monktonhall stands, bore, until of late years, many strong traces of a Roman encampment, which seems to have extended westward to the spot still called Camp-end, in the parish of Newton, on the turnpike road from Edinburgh to Dalkeith. From the Shirehaugh to the harbour of Fisherrow, there was a Roman way, partly remaining in the memory of several people not long dead. No vestiges, however, now remain."

The old bridge of Musselburgh, still preserved for foot-passengers, is believed to have been originally constructed by the conquerors of Valentia, to connect their *municipium* and the harbour. Stretching from either side of it were the remains of the causeway alluded to. "Traces of a Roman causeway," Dr Moir further informs us, "which extended from the harbour of Fisherrow to the camp at Sheriff-hall, and thence to Borthwick, were in many places visible in the memory of man; while another branch, extending westward to the south of Portobello, and thence into the parish of Currie, is still, at several points, in remarkable preservation. The fragment in the parish of Duddingston is well known locally, under the vulgarised name of 'the Fishwives' Causeway.'"

When it is recollected that the Romans held possession of

* Now of Edinburgh.

Valentia—subject, of course, to numerous interruptions from the Caledonians—for upwards of three hundred years, it is by no means surprising that their colony at Inveresk—possessing as it did uncontrolled access to the sea—should have grown into importance. It seems to be a mistake, however, on the part of Dr Moir, to suppose that they drove out the British tribes. This was no part of the policy of the Romans, though no doubt many retreated before the conquerors. Had the colony been wholly Roman, it is strange that no trace of their presence remains in the topography of the district. It is also a mistake to say that "when the Romans abdicated, they were succeeded by the Anglo-Saxons from Northumberland." It was not till a full century afterwards that, at the battle of Catraeth, in 547, they defeated the Gadeni and Ottadini, and occupied Lothian, until they were in turn defeated by the Picts at the battle of Dunichen in 685.*

* Dr Moir, quoting Chalmers, thinks it a curious fact that scarcely a Druidical monument remains within the limits of Lothian, and agrees with him that "this circumstance plainly intimates the occurrence of some decidedly religious events during the obscure ages, immediately succeeding the abdication of the Roman power. In all probability, he is right in conjecturing that the intrusion of a pagan people among the Romanized Ottadini, along the southern shore of the Forth during the fifth century, was the cause of the destruction to the Druidical monuments in those districts." Chalmers, of course, alludes to the inroad of the Anglo-Saxons from Northumberland. But the truth is, Druidical monuments are rare over all the more accessible portions of Romanized Scotland, and in place of attributing their destruction to the Saxons, it is extremely probable that this was the work of the Romans themselves, who are known to have been extremely hostile to the Druids. Lothian, and the southern shores of the Frith of Forth, were the principal seats of the Roman power—hence the greater rarity of Druidical remains there than in other portions of Scotland. "Nevertheless," as stated by Dr Moir, "in the grounds of Sir David Milne's beautiful villa at Inveresk, a monument was dug up two or three years ago, which seems to bear strong marks of a Druidical origin. It is a circular table of stone, covered with a composition of lime and gravel, sup-

FIRST NOTICE OF INVERESK AND MUSSELBURGH IN CHARTERS.

At what Chalmers calls the "epoch of record," the parish of Inveresk appears to have been divided into two baronies or holdings, called *Great* and *Little* Inveresk. The latter was granted by Malcolm Caenmore, and Margaret his queen, to the monks of Dunfermline. This charter was confirmed by David I., who added a donation of Great Inveresk (Musselburgh), with the mill, the fishing, and the church of Inveresk, its tithes, and the port at Esk-muthe: "Omnes rectitudines de omnibus navibus, que in portu de Inveresc applicuerint, et ibi super terrarum suam retinacula sua fixuerint, excepto theloneo meo si ibi mercatores navim merces suas vendiderint ut alias ad deferendum secum in terra mea mercati fuerint."* These grants, of 1124 and 1152, were confirmed by David's successors, and by a bull of Pope Lucius III., in 1182, and another of Pope Gregory IX. in 1234. The abbey had also a charter of the patronage and customs of Musselburgh, along with other places, from Robert I., which charter was confirmed by Robert III. By the grant of David I. the monks of Dunfermline had baronial jurisdiction over the whole of the lands of Great and Little Inveresk, which jurisdiction they afterwards got enlarged into a regality. The church, dedicated to St Michael, was, in early times, from the populousness of the parish, of great value. By the name of Muscilburg, it appears in the ancient *Taxatio* at 70 merks. It was served by a vicar, while the monks enjoyed the parsonage. The high standing of the vicar of Muscilburg is evinced by the fact that

ported on freestone pillars. The interior was filled with the teeth of animals, and around it were majestic antlers of the deer. The whole have fortunately been preserved."

* Dunfermline Cartulary.

he frequently appears among names of note as witnessing charters of the crown. "Early in the thirteenth century," says Chalmers, "a dispute arose between the monks and the vicar, which was settled by the diocesan bishop, who directed that the vicar should enjoy the small tithes and the offerings at the altars of Muscilburg, excepting the fish of every sort, and the tithes of the mills belonging to the monks, for which the vicar was directed to pay yearly ten merks." The vicarage, in Bagimont's Roll, in the reign of James V., was taxed at £5, 6s. 8d. There were several altars in the church of Inveresk, the chaplains of which were endowed by private bequests. In 1475, for example, Sir Simon Preston of Craigmillar gave an annualrent of ten merks out of the lands of Cameron to one of them for the performance of certain appropriate services.

That Great Inveresk, or Musselburgh, is a place of remote antiquity, there can be no doubt. As the old rhyme has it:—

"Musselburgh was a burgh,
When Edinburgh was nane;
And Musselburgh 'll be a burgh,
When Edinburgh is gane."

Robert Chambers, in the first edition of his "Popular Rhymes," explains that this is "a pun, or quibble," as brogh (or *brugh*) signifies a mussel-bed.* Plausible though the explanation may be, it is not satisfactory. Edinburgh, as a burgh, cannot be traced beyond the time of David I., to whose reign the grant of Musselburgh, with its port and fishings, also dates back. It thus follows that the rhyme, after all, may be an honest boast of greater antiquity. The name is derived from an extensive bed of mussels, which still exists at the confluence of the river with the sea.

Dr Moir says, "The Anglo-Saxon word *brugh* probably fixes

* The meaning of brogh is *surety, caution.*

its origin upon that people," yet we see that it was called *Eskmuthe* by the same people in the seventh century. We rather incline to think that the name Musselburgh is of later times, when it really became possessed of something approaching to the privileges of a burgh or town. *Burgh* is no more indicative of Anglo-Saxon origin than the affix *town* or *ton*. The latter seems to have been applied chiefly to the names of places derived from persons —such as *Symington* (*Simon's town*), and added because it was necessary to the sense and euphony of the term. In this way, Musselburgh might as well have been called Mussel*ton*, but that it was a *burgh* in the sense approaching to what is now understood by the word. There are only a few places in Scotland so distinguished—as, for example, Edinburgh, Roxburgh, Jedburgh, &c. Musselburgh in all likelihood existed as a community in the seventh century, yet Simeon of Durham calls it Eskmouth. Describing the boundary of Tyningham monastery, he says:—"Et tota terra quæ pertinet ad monasterium Sancti Baltheri quod vocatur Tyningham, a Lambermore, usque ad Escemuthe." In the seventh century it was thus called *Eskmouth*. When the Lothians were formally ceded to the Scottish King in 1020, the *Ecclesia de Muskilburgh* came under the jurisdiction of St Andrews. In the eleventh century it was thus called *Musselburgh*. One of two things is therefore clear, either that the town did not exist when Simeon of Durham wrote, or that it had become a burgh prior to 1020. It must have been a place of considerable importance before the close of the twelfth century, the barons of Scotland having assembled there on the 12th October 1201, to swear fealty to the infant son of William the Lion.

The arms of Musselburgh are three mussel-shells and three anchors, with the motto "Honesty,"—the "honest toun o' Musselburgh" being proverbial.

In the grant by David I. to the Abbey of Dunfermline the

lands are styled Great Inveresk or *Musselburgh-shire.** "The mill," says Dr Carlisle, "to which this regality was astricted and thirled, is called the *shire-mill*, and the wood along the banks of the river, of which little remains, is called *shire-wood;* and *Sheriff-hall*, at the extremity of the regality, has acquired its name in the same manner. The sheriff miln and haugh are repeatedly mentioned in the town books.

"29 Nov. 1708.—The Counsell condescend to sell the timber in the *Sheriff-millne haugh*, except what is fitt for the Croune use, and recommend to the two present magistratts and sighters to be present at the cutting and selling thereof, any day they think most proper for doing thereof, and that in regard of the timber being very old and greatly decayed."

In 1239 Alexander II. granted a charter of "libera forestas," or free forestry over the lands of the district, to the abbots.

The oldest of the burgh charters are—a *transumpt* of a charter by David II., in favour of the burgh of Dunfermline, Kirkcaldie, *Musselburgh*, and Queensferry, confirming all their ancient rights and privileges as burghs of regality, holding of the Abbey of Dunfermline, dated 24th October 1354; and a charter by Robert, Commendator of Dunfermline, with consent of the whole members of the convent thereto subscribing, dated 11th December 1562. The latter narrates, "Quia per authentica documenta, &c., et quod cartæ et infeofmenta privilegiorum et facultatum dicti nostri burgi de Musselburgh, balivis et incolis ejusdem, per nostros predecessores temporibus præteritis, concess. et confect. per veteres nostros Angliæ hostes temporibus belli et guerri præteritis, combustæ et omnino destructæ fuerunt noveritis igitur. Nos, &c., dare concedere, hæreditarie demittere et hac præsenti carta nostra confirmare dilectis nostri balivus communitatæ et incolis dicti nostri burgi de Musselburgh, præsentibus et eorum successoribus qui pro tempore fuerint, totum et integrum dictu in nos-

* The district had thus the benefit of a *sheriff* at that early period.

trum burgum de Musselburgh," &c. In the *Old Statistical Account*, this destruction of the papers belonging to the burgh by the English is said to have occurred after the battle of Pinkie, but the charter does not say so, and from the silence of Patten, the English historian of Somerset's expedition, on the subject, it is more likely that the loss occurred in 1544, when the Tolbooth and Council-House were destroyed by fire. The convent reserved the mills, and prohibited the burgh from building either corn or waulk milns without the license of the monastery. This charter was confirmed by Queen Anne, with consent of the King, 19th May 1612, and subsequent Acts of Parliament.

The lands and regality of Musselburgh continued in the hands of the monks till the Reformation. From the *Rental* of the Abbey in 1561, we quote the following, as illustrative of the localities, and their respective value:—

"*The Penny Meall and Annuell within Mussilburghe-schyre.*

Inveresk	lxxj^{lib} xvj$^{d.}$
Monktounhall	xliij^{lib} vj^{s} viij$^{d.}$
Littill Monktoune	xviij^{lib}
Natoun (Newton)	xxix^{lib} iij$^{s.}$
Smetoune	xxx^{lib} xiij^{s} iiij$^{d.}$
Caldcottis	vj^{lib}
Wonat bank	vj^{lib} xiij^{s} iiij$^{d.}$
Carberrie	xl^{lib}
Costertoune	x^{lib}
Pynkin (Pinkie) and Cars	xxiij^{lib}
The fisching	viij^{lib}
Womett	xliiij^{lib} xvj$^{s.}$
Stanyhill	vj^{lib} xiij^{s} iiij$^{d.}$
The mylnes	lxvj^{lib} xiij^{s} iiij$^{d.}$
The borrow meallis of Mussilbroc toune. Payt be ye baillies	liij^{s} iiij$^{d.}$
The annuell hill. Pait be ye laird hill	xx$^{s.}$
The annuell of edmistoune. Be ye laird thereof	xiij^{s} iiij$^{d.}$
The annuell of edr Be the thr. thereof	v^{lib}

The annuell of Hadingtoun. Be ye baillie . xl$^{s.}$
The annuell of quhytsyd. Be ye lard Fawsyde. Nou be Mr Da$^{d.}$ and his spouse . . xx$^{s.}$
The annuell of the pannis. Be ye laird Craigmillar xx$^{s.}$
The annuell of Newbottle. The abbot of Newbottle xx$^{s.}$
The terrors's croft. Be bessy froge . xxvj^{s} viij$^{d.}$
Summa of ye penny meallis and annuellis within Mussilburghe . iiij^{c}xix^{lib} xiij^{s} iiij$^{d.}$
The ferm quheit amounted to . xv$^{ch.}$ vj$^{bo.}$
The teynd quhyte to . i$^{ch.}$ v$^{bo.}$ (set for money.)
The teynd beir . . iiij$^{ch.}$ j$^{bo.}$ ij$^{f.}$ (not set.)
The teynd aittis . . v$^{ch.}$ vij$^{bo.}$

TRANSMISSION OF THE PROPERTY.

After the Reformation, says Chalmers, the lordship and Regality of Musselburgh, with the patronage of the church, and the various chaplainries subordinate to it, were conferred by James VI. upon his chancellor, Lord Thirlstane, the progenitor of the Earls of Lauderdale. In 1586, the office of hereditary bailie of the lordship of Musselburgh was held by the same nobleman: "Carta Domini Joannis Maitland de Thirlstane de officio balliautus de Mussilbrughshyre." About the same time he appears to have obtained a gift of the Regality from his royal master, a "Procuratorie of resignatioun of ye lordschip of Mussilbrugh" being recorded in the cartulary of Dunfermline. Meanwhile the lordship of Dunfermline, which had been excepted out of the General Annexation Act of 1587, was conferred by James VI., as a marriage dowry, upon Queen Anne of Denmark. This occurred at Upsal, in Norway, on the morning after marriage, 23d November 1589, according to ancient custom. This grant was confirmed by two Acts of Parliament. On the 20th February 1596, Alexander Seton, Lord Urquhart, President of the Court of Session, (having previously had a charter from Queen Anne as keeper of the Abbey of Dunfermline,) was ap

pointed hereditary bailie of the lordship of Musselburgh: "Carta Alexandrij Domini Urquhart officij hereditarj Balliautus de Mussilbrugh."

Lord Urquhart, afterwards Earl of Dunfermline, continued to exercise the office of hereditary bailie. In 1630, there was a contract between his successor, the second Earl, and the magistrates of Musselburgh, by which the latter were empowered to hold courts in all criminal causes, &c. This contract, with an additional grant, was confirmed by Charles I., 30th November, 1632. The Earl of Lauderdale, at the same time, did not cease to assert his claim to the lordship of Musselburgh, who contended that it had, *ab ante*, been gifted to him, which plea was at length sustained. Accordingly we find him entering into a contract with the magistrates, empowering them to hold courts for the administration of justice, &c., dated September 1642.

In September 1649, John Earl of Lauderdale was served heir to his father in the lordship and regality of Musselburgh. "This record," says Chalmers, "evinces that James VI. granted to Lord Thirlstane the above lands, manors, regalities, jurisdictions, advowson of churches and chapels, with every species of property and right which the monks of Dunfermline had amassed on this pleasant site, during so many centuries. Lord Thirlstane, we see from the retour, transmitted the whole to his heirs, notwithstanding some unpleasant contests with Queen Anne, who had right of dower over the estates which had belonged to the monastery of Dunfermline."

From John Earl of Lauderdale the burgh had a charter in which all its ancient rights and privileges are confirmed. This charter proceeded upon a contract entered into between the Earl and the town, the gist of which was that he should ratify the charters of David II. and the Commendator of Dunfermline. Also their right to the third part of the four corn milns of Musselburgh, flowing from Thomas Smith and James Robertson, with

the office of hereditary miller of the Sea Miln, with a novadamus of the nether miln of Brunstain, to be holden of the Earl. The magistrates were to pay 2400 merks as the feu-duty of these milns, the Earl and his successors being liable in payment of a third part of all taxation and public burdens to be imposed upon them; and of the sum of three hundred merks for the "burgh and lands thereof, with their privileges, and their third and sixth parts of the said milns and heritable office of miller and superiority of the said knaveship, and others therein mentioned, with this provision, that the said feu-duty of three hundred merks was to be in full satisfaction of all that was due by the redendo of their former charters." For the Earl's security he was to have "an heritable right of an annual rent of 2400 merks upliftable furth of the said toun, their third and sixth parts of the said four milns, astricted multures, and heritable office of miller, and also furth of the said nether miln of Brunstain, and of the said Earl his third part of the said milns." This contract was dated at Holyroodhouse and Musselburgh, 12th January and February 1670. The charter which followed upon it was confirmed by Charles II., 21st July 1671.*

"Most of this valuable property," says Chalmers, "remained in the Lauderdale family, notwithstanding the well-known profusion of the Duke of Lauderdale, down till the beginning of last century." The Council Books contain many evidences of the kindly footing upon which the burgh stood with the superior, as, for example, the following:—

"9th July 1688.—The counsel condescends to allow my Lord

* The magistrates had the right of holding courts, punishing malefactors, and, if needful, of putting them to trial and torture. It further gave the power of granting infeftments—"of cognoscing, entering, and seizing the heirs of the foresaid free tenants, in the foresaid lands, tenements and others, respectively above specified, when their certain right is clearly manifested, according to the old usage and custom of the said burgh."

Lauderdale all the carts can be had in the place for carrying some timber from Fisheraw to Thirlstane Castle for his use, conforme to ane leet to be made thereof by the baillies, under the penaltie of 5 lib. who refuses, against Thursday next."

"23d October 1700.—This day the Councill condescends to send the tounes carts to Cranstone to Mr William Maitland, to carry in hay from that to the abbey of Holyrood House, and under the penaltie of ten merks for the absent cart."

"24th November 1702.—The which day the Counsell having considered the Lord Maitland's desyre by his letter desyring the loan of eight carts for carrying his plenishing to Thirlestane Castle, and they considering the badness of the way, that carts cannot pass that way, therefor condescend to give him thirty horses for cariage for transporting thereof."

Dr Moir says that "before the commencement of the seventeenth [eighteenth] century, the lordship of Inveresk, which had belonged to the Dicksons of Carberry, was sold by the then proprietor, Sir Robert, to Anne, Duchess of Monmouth and Buccleuch." This, however, could not be; Sir Robert Dickson of Carberry still held the superiority in 1705, in which year we find the following minute in the Council Books:

"13th February, 1705.—The Counsell appoynts the two present baillies to goe to Edinburgh to-morrow to speak with Sir Robert Dicksone and the assessor anent John Duncan's holding courts in the tolbooth under pretence of Sir Robert Dicksone, and in the time holds Sir James Baird's, and the other heritors, who bought their superiorities, and thereupon has not only fined but also imprisoned some persones within the tolbooth, whereby the toune may be prejudged, and whereupon to take their advice whether the toune is obleiged or noe to furnish the tolbooth to the other heritors except Sir Robert Dicksone, and with power to them to doe therein as they shall be advysed, and to report to the counsell against the next meeting."

The superiority of the Regality had thus been broken up among sundry proprietors, of whom Sir Robert Dicksone was

one of the principal, being patron of the church. He was descended from Dr David Dickson, at one time minister of Irvine, and afterwards professor in the University of Edinburgh. The relationship between Sir Robert and the burgh was at one time not of the most amicable description. From a minute of Council, dated 16th July 1705, we learn that a law plea was entered into, the summons of reduction by the superior having been met by a counter summons on the part of the Council, which was directed "against the Earl of Lauderdale as well for his interest in the contract past betwixt the Earl and the toune in 1670," the date of the charter granted by his lordship to the town. The nature of the plea is not defined in the minute, but that the burgh considered it important appears from the following more than usually specific entry:

"19th October, 1705.

SEDERUNT.

Richard Douglas, baillie.	Robert Vernor.
Patrick Heriot, old thesr.	Robert Smart.
James Ramage.	Thomas Tod.
Alexander Edgelie.	Thomas Mitchell.
Thomas Wilkie.	James Brown.
Robert Douglas, yr. baillie.	George Watsone.

The whilk day the members of Counsell above named, considering that the toune is involved in a plea with Sir Robert Dicksone, anent the toun's rights and priviledges, therefore they think fitt, for defraying the charge of the said plea, to acquaint the masters of the incorporations to intimate to their several trades that there must be a voluntar contributione by all the burgesses for the toun's defence, and to that effect the Counsell appoynts Baillie Vernor, Baillie Smart, Baillie Tod and Thomas Mitchell, to meet with the saids masters, with the Baillies and thesaurers concurrance, and after intimatione to the trades and burgesses, with power to them to fall upon such measures for gathering in the said contributione as they shall think fitt, and declares any four of them to be a quorum, and recommends to Baillie Richard

Douglass, Baillie Tod, the present thesr., and the clerk, to attend the said business."

How the law plea ended is not mentioned. It seems to have continued for some time, the council paying the rent of the mills to Sir Robert Dicksone under protest. In 1707 (7th April) the Council "borrow two hundred pounds Scots from Thomas Wilkie to make up the mill rents, amounting to 900 lib. Scots, due at Whitsunday last." Sir Robert died in 1712, leaving his son a minor. Perhaps the following minute has reference to the sale of the superiority on the part of the Dicksons:

"9th November, 1713.—The Councill condescends that Baylie Wilkie, Baylie Smart, Richard Douglas, and Maister Ross, shall go to Edinburg hand inform themselves off the nature and tearms off the *rouping the superiority;* and also that they inform themselves and see if they can gett money to borrow att the Bank to buy up their share off the superiority in caise the same should be rouped betwixt and Saturday next.'

It would appear that the town was not successful in raising the money, and that the superiority was then, in 1713, and not "before the commencement of the eighteenth century," purchased by the Duchess of Monmouth. Dr Carlisle states, that the lordship of Musselburgh was purchased from the Earl of Lauderdale by the Duchess of Monmouth and Buccleuch in 1709. The lordship and patronage of the church still remain with the Buccleuch family. Certain portions of the Regality and parish have been disjoined and added to the parishes of Cranston, Newton, and Dalkeith.

RIGHTS AND PRIVILEGES OF THE REGALITY.

Before the Reformation Musselburgh was an ecclesiastical burgh of regality, belonging, as has been shown, to the Abbey of Dun-

fermline. Since then it holds of the Lord Superior, at present the Duke of Buccleuch, on payment of certain sums annually as quit-rent or feu-duty. The territories of the burgh extend along the sea-coast, the whole length of the parish, and are about three miles in length, and two in breadth. In 1632 Musselburgh was erected into a royal burgh, by a charter under the Great Seal; but the magistrates of Edinburgh obtained a decreet of reduction of the charter before the Privy Council, dated 30th November of that year, in consequence of a compromise with the magistrates of Musselburgh. As it is, the town possesses all the power and privileges of a royal burgh, with the exception of returning a delegate to the Convention of Royal Burghs. Although in reality constituting one community, Musselburgh and Fisherrow were in some measure distinct, the latter being perhaps of more recent growth, and without the ancient ports. Before the Reform of the Burghs in 1833, the Regality of Musselburgh was governed by eighteen councillors, two of whom were bailies. In a minute of 24th September, 1703, the *sett* is described as consisting of the above number, "10 always living within the ports of Musselburgh, and 8 within the liberties and privileges thereof; 6 in Fisherrow, Bridgend, and Mercat-gate, and two living in Newbigging, Milnehill, and Saut-pans; every year, 8 days before Michaelmas, two old councillors retire, and two new elected."

At the election, 29th September, 1702, Bailie Douglas protested that no person living without the ports had a right to be elected. This had the effect of throwing out the representatives from Fisherrow, &c., and a complete schism took place for some time. Overtures were given in on both sides to Sheriff Calderwood, Edinburgh, with a view to an amicable settlement; and, in consequence of his advice, apparently, they were admitted as formerly to the Council Board on the 24th September, 1703. Amongst other bye-laws the Council enacted that parties elected,

and refusing to accept of office, should be fined. In 1699, Robert Graham of Slipperfield was elected a councillor and treasurer, but failing to appear, after divers warnings, he was ordered to pay forty shillings Scots.

The magistrates, as already stated, had the power, by their title-deeds, to hold a court of record, and issue precepts both on their decrees and registrations. They were entitled to grant infeftment by hasp and staple, *more burgi;* but, Dr Carlisle observes, their clerk was not entitled to a protocol record of infeftments, as used to be the case in burghs royal. This is a mistake:

"22d June, 1713.—The Councill appoynts the present Baylies and thesaurer, Baylie Ainslie, Baylie Mitchell, John Douglas, and John Sampson, to meett against Saturday att eight of the morning and sitt till eleven, and to meett att one, and sitt till four afternoon, and then to take inspection into the *prothogalls*, and other books or papers belonging to the town and inhabitants, as they are now in the hands of Widow Edgar, so that they may be inventored and delivered to Thomas Tod, present clerk, and condescend thatt James Edgar be sent for to witness the same."

Here then we see that the burgh had a protocol record. In the inventory of documents belonging to the burgh, six volumes of sasines are mentioned, commencing in 1613. These, however, with the exception of some loose sheets, have not been preserved. On the 23d March 1503-4, a cause was moved in Parliament against "William Froge and George Hill, the Bailies of Musselburgh, for their misconduct in serving certain writs of inquest, which had issued from the chapel [chancery] of the abbot of Dunfermline, on a tenement in that town. The Lords found that the inquest had erred in serving the writs, and set aside the retour." All sasines are now, and have been for many years back, recorded in the county register; but being an incorporated burgh the town was excepted out of the Jurisdiction Act.* The

* The Regality of old paid £2 yearly into the Exchequer.

Bailies held Courts of Justice, criminal as well civil, and exercised all the powers of feudal barons, with the exception of inflicting capital punishment. Like most other burghs they maintained an assize for regulating the price of bread.

"8th February, 1682.—The Counsell finds the pryce of good and sufficient wheat for the present to be seven pund Scottes, and therefor ordaines the baxters and bread sellers within the burgh and liberties to make ther bread sufficient, conforme to the book of rates, of weight, fynes and pryce, under the paine of ther being punished att the will of the magistrates."

It is a great mistake upon the part of those who imagine that the culture of wheat in Scotland is only of recent introduction.

The Council records furnish not a few examples of how they managed the police affairs of the burgh:

"16th June, 1682.—The baillies and Counsell grants warrand to and commands ther officers to eject Thomas Dunlop, weaver, ane Quaker, for being guiltie of the said heresie, and comeing to reside in ther burgh without ane certificate, he having gotten tymeous advertisement of befor to that effect, and having promised to bring a certificate."

Dunlop, the Quaker, does not seem to have been so easily ejected:—

"31 Julii 1682.—The Counsell condescends that the baillies shall proceed against Thomas Dunlop, Quaker, according to law, conform to the advyce of ther lawyers, and lykways against other Quakers, keepers of conventicles, within their liberties, as they shall be advysed by the assessor, conforme to the Act of Parliament."

Musselburgh had also its *jougs*, or stocks, as a punishment. It must have been affixed to the pedestal of the cross:—

"3 Julii 1688.—The Counsell ordaines Robert Scott and Alexander Porteous to ly in closs prisone till Saturday next, at which day they are appointed to be taken to the mercat cross,

and sitt a considerable tyme in the stocks with a parcell of stollen malt besyd them, and therefter to be banished the place, unless, betwixt and that tyme, they make a full discoverie of ther nighboures accession to the lyke stealths of malt and corne formerly."

The burgh had also its officers, armed with halberts:—

"15 Julii 1689.—The baillies having formerly depryved Robert Porteous, officer, for invading William Porteous with ane halbert, without provocation, to the hazard of his lyfe, the Counsell approves of what the baillies hes done, and allowes the said Robert only to officiat as officer till Michaelmas next, and declares his place thereafter vacant."

The magistrates were somewhat sensitive on the score of their official character:—

"3 Julii 1690.—The Counsell fynes Walter Ramsay, shoemake, in 40^{lib} Scottes, for certaine injurious expressions uttered be him against the baillies, and declares him to have tint and omitted his burgeship in tyme coming."

"2 Oct. 1699."—Charles Wilson, late treasurer, fined in 40s. and imprisoned, for saying, at the last election, that the baillies and council were unjust. He was also to beg their pardon.

There being no police force in these days, the inhabitants were compelled to turn out as a guard upon particular occasions:—

"26 Jan. 1702.—The Counsell, in regard that the toune is dayly invaded by thieves and breaking of houses, therefor they appoynt a watch of twelve men on each side of the water, to watch the toune, and recommends it to the present baillies, or any other of Counsell they please to call for, to assist them in taking up rolls of the persons names that ar to watch nightly, with a commander each night to command them."

In small communities, where the authorities are daily in the habit of mixing with their fellow-townsmen, it is not easy to command that respect which is due to the judicial office. The

following cases are illustrative of this, as well as of the manners and customs of the times:—

"17 May 1703.—The baillies having represented to the Counsell that they, having quartered two of the horse granadeers upon Charles Wright, baxter in Newbigging, as they did upon other burghers, he thereupon exclaimed against them, and turned out his horse upon Baillie Rich^d. Douglas his wheat, and carried along with him ane charged gun, and told Baillie Vernor to his face, that if anybody opposed him, be whom they pleased, he would put a pair of balls through ther head. Thereupon he was convened before the baillies, and failzied to appear. Being personallie apprehended, for which the baillies fyned him in 10^lib for his contumacie, and ordained him to be brought down by force; and accordingly he was brought, and in presence of both the baillies and others, when he, in a most rude manner, appeared with his bonnet on his head, and would not discover upon noe account, and acknowledged that if any persone had hindered him when he was upon the wheat with his horse he would have shott them upon the spott, and disowned the magistrats to be his baillies, and cared not a * * * * for them; ffor which the baillies ordered him to prisone till he payed the said 10^lib for contumacie, and to find caution to answer the counsell under the penaltie of 100^lib, which the said Charles refused to doe, and said somebody should ly on the ground or he would doe it; and last, when he was commanded, he went to prisone, and said he should be out of it that night, being Saturday's night last, at ten of clock, whether the baillies would or not. This was done in Wm. Pursell's house, upon Saturday the 15th instant, betwixt 3 and 4 hours afternoon, before George Hamilton, Pat. Heriot, elder, Wm. Tod, and the said Wm. Pursell."

When next brought before the Council, Wright acknowledged that he had acted in a passion rashly. The Council fined him in 100^lib Scots, with loss of his freedom and imprisonment until he should find caution in 500 merks not to molest the bailies in future. Upon a petition, however, he was afterwards restored to his status as a burgess.

"18 Dec. 1710.—The which day the Counsell being convened, and it having been represented to them by the present magistratts, Thomas Tod and Alexander Ainslie, that there haveing the last week been two oak trees cast out at Fisherrow, and the saids Magistratts being informed that Patrick Taite, younger, in Fisherrow, had at his own hand taken away the granes* of the saids trees, and discharged him to dispose thereon untill publick intimation were made at the church doors of Musselburgh at the dissolving of the congregations convened for the tyme, to any persone or persones who had or would pretend right to and make it appear that the saids trees were theres. And the said Patrick Taite haveing answered that he cared not for any areistment or order of the saids magistratts, and that he would noe ways regard it. The saids magistratts haveing ordered the said Patrick Taite to cause carry down the graines of the saids trees to David Douglas, wright in Fisherrow, under the pain of ten pound Scotts money, and he haveing answered that he would obey no such orders if it should cost him one hundred pound, and the saids magistratts being informed thereof, and haveing ordered the said Patrick Taite to be brought and heard befor them, and he haveing appeared and being desyred to attend for a small tyme till he was called for, he, in a most audacious and contemptible manner, told the saids magistratts that he knew nothing they had to say to him, and that he would not stop on them, and having accordingly gone home to his own house, and haveing been thereafter again ordered to compeir befor the saids magistratts, he compeired in Baillie Robert Smart's house in Fisherrow, and being civilly reproved for his saids contempt and disobedience, and being told that he was fyned therefor, and that he must goe to prisone till he payed his contumacie, he told the saids magistratts in the face most audaciously that befor he went to prison he should know what for—and haveing been ordered to goe to prison by the two officers, he, far contrar to his burges oath, disobeyed, run away from the said officers and made his escape—and haveing been thereafter apprehended with great difficulty in his own house by the toun's officers, and being desyred to open the door, and haveing refused so to doe for a long tyme, the officers told him that they would break open the

* Branches.

door in the Queen's name, whereupon he haveing opened the said door, and with much difficulty being brought to prison, where he yet lay. All this done in presence of Robert Smart, David Douglas, the clerk and others, and which complaint above written the Councill haveing heard and considered, and the said Patrick Taite being called befor them, and compeiring personallie, he most contemptuously walked up and down the tolbuith where the Council was sitting, and would not stand still, but in a most audacious and contemptible manner craved the double of the complaint made against him, and he having not denied the same —In respect of all which the Councill not only deprived him of his fredome as a burges, and ordained his burges ticket to be destroyed, but lykewayes ordained the said Patrick Taite to pay the sum of forty pounds Scotts money, and continue in prisone till payment thereof, and of the ten pounds Scotts money forsaid of contumacie wherein he is fyned by the saids magistratts, by contemning and disobeying ther authority in manner forsaid."

It would thus appear that the magistrates were in the habit of holding courts in a very informal manner—in public or private houses.

"25 Feb. 1717.—The which day the Councill having considered that Anna Crawford, daughter to James Craufurd, workman in Musselburgh, had on Saturday last perpetrate the horrid crime of murder on a child she had born on Saturday last, twixt four or five of the morning, to Alexander Bruce, flesher in Musselburgh, and also considering that her Grace the Duchess of Buccleugh has power to determine in such capital crimes, they recommend it to the Baillies to write to Baillie Innes, her Grace's Baillie thereanent; and to recommend him to see how it must be disposed of, and that he would come down here to take order thereanent; and in case Baillie Innes declines, they recommend to Baillie Smart and the Clerk to go to-morrow to Edr., and there to take Mr Coult the assessor along with them to the King's advocate, and ordain them to take her confession with them, and to advise with the advocate what must be farther done with her."

There is no subsequent minute on the subject, but it is likely the prisoner was conveyed to Edinburgh.

In 1761, after a process of nearly ten years' standing, the magistrates were amerced by the Court of Session in £70 damages, at the instance of John Duncan, travelling chapman, "said to be sustained by the said Duncan in a riot committed in the streets of Musselburgh some time in August 1752," when Robert Primrose was a magistrate.

By the Reform Bill—drawn up, it is said, by Mr Thomas Drummond, then secretary to Lord Althorpe, who received his education at Musselburgh—the sett of the burgh was altered. It is now governed by a Provost, with a Town-Council of twelve, out of which two bailies and a treasurer are chosen. The first Provost under the new system was William Aitchison of Drummore, who was succeeded by Sir John Hope of Craighall, &c.

There are no police in the town save those connected with the county, of which Musselburgh is a station. The *fulzie* of the burgh is let annually, and carts perambulate the streets every morning for the removal of nuisances.

REVENUE OF THE BURGH.

The revenue of the burgh is derived from feu-duties, lands, multures of the mills, shore or harbour dues, and the customs. The mills seem to have been the more important source of income. It would appear that there were at one time no fewer than four corn mills within the liberties, and that the office of miller of the *Shire* mill was held hereditarily. "In June 1636, Thomas Smith was served heir to his father, a burgess of Musselburgh, in two oxgates of the lands of Inveresk, $2\frac{1}{2}$ acres in the moor of Inveresk, and a tenement in Inveresk, together with the office of *hereditary* miller of the mill called the *Shire* mill, within the limits of Inveresk, with the mill acre: also to the sixth part of the *four* corn mills of Musselburghschyre, and to the sixth part

of the *haugh*, near the said Shire mill."* The hereditary miller had acquired a sixth part of these properties by purchase. The four mills were the Shire mill, the two West mills, and the Sea mill—the latter so called because of its proximity to the shore, the sea having then flowed nearer the town than it does now. The miller of the town mills also held his office hereditarily. The mills are repeatedly mentioned in the Council books :—

"13 Nov. 1679.—The Counsell condescends that the milnes shall not be set for the ensuing year under three thousand merks† of tack dutie."

This was a goodly sum in those days—amounting to £166, 13s. 4d. sterling. The mill duties were usually let to the highest bidder, or retained in the hands of the town :—

"5 Nov. 1683.—The Counsell appoynts Monday next, being the 12th instant, at 2 of the clock in the afternoon, for rouping ther milnes, and ordaines intimation to be made theirof the ordinarie way."

The Council seem to have had much trouble in enforcing the privileges of the mills. 29 September 1686, they "discharge all meill not grund at the toun's milnes from being brought within their liberties," great damage to the income of the burgh having been sustained by the "import of meal grund at other milnes." Numerous other minutes, of a similar nature, occur down to a late period, and various prosecutions were entered into against those who evaded the multures. There are several entries regarding the mills which may be curious :—

"17 Oct. 1692.—The Counsell appoynts ane outter wheale to be bought and provydit for the Sea milne, and discharges the millers to keep swine or exact drink from the girsters as they have of late unwarrantablie done, under the paine of deprivation, and not take the soupings of the houpes or milne for their oune

* Chalmers's Caledonia.

† A merk Scots is equal to thirteen pence and one third of a penny ster.

use, to the prejudice of the said girsters, under the forsaid paine, and being further punished at the baillie's pleasure."

"17 Sept. 1702.—The whilk day the Counsell ordains that in tym coming the multurer shall draw the multures at the milnes in maner underwritten, viz., for each two bolls of malt ane peck of multure, and ane peck of multure for each six firlots of all other grains to be grunded thereat, and that noe pocks shall be carried to the milns and immediately grunded, but that the same shall be secked up in secks, to the effect that the multurer may know what quantitie is thereof, and ordains all methods maginable to be taken for truly drawing the saids multures, and ingathering the abstracted multure, and discharges any ease to be given to any persone whatsoever, under the paine of deprivation of the multures, and otherways to be punished as the baillies shall think fitt."

"16 April 1705.—This day the Baillies and Counsell having declared Adam Stenhouse his office as nackett in the Sea-milne for his miscarriages to be vacant, therefore they have elected and admitted, and hereby admits and installs Robert Wood, servitor to Patrick Herriot, younger, to be the toune's servant and nackett in the said milne, in place of the said Adam Stenhouse," &c.

The word *nacket*, in Scotch, signifies diminutive—as the old song has it,

> "There was a wee cooper who lived in Fife,
> Nickity, nackity, noo, noo, noo,
> And he has gotten a gentle wife,
> Hey Willy Wallacky, how John Dougall,
> Alane, quo' rushety, roue, roue, roue."

The *nackett* of the Sea milne, therefore, may have been a servant in an inferior position. We are not aware of having seen it used in this sense before, and no explanation of the term is given in Jamieson's *Scottish Dictionary*.

In 1713 the mills were not to be rouped under a rental of 2000 merks Scots money. On the 9th June 1715 the Council instructs William Berry to collect the town's *third part of the knaveship of the three milnes* of Musselburgh, and to oversee the

reparations that will fall to the town's share. The Sheriff mill had been destroyed by fire in 1729.

"29 Sept. 1730.—The Council having considered a petition given in to them by Robert Smith, shewing that the Shirref miln and kiln was burnt the 13 Dec. last, which had cost him near six hundred pound of reparation, the Councill theirfor at his request allow George Smart to pay him two hundred pound with all despatch, in order to alleviate the expenses he has been at."

Robert Smith was the hereditary miller,* consequently the town had little authority over the Sheriff mill. On the 18th May 1741, we find a minute to the effect that the knaveship of the Shire miln had "lyen in nonentry since the death of Robert Smith, merchant, and that Archibald Shiells, merchant, Edr., to whom it belongs, shall enter immediately with the toun." A new charter was to be made out, and he to pay an entry of ten guineas. By a minute of the 13th Jan. 1758, the Council agreed to purchase Mr Shiell's share of the *Shire mill* for £503, 6s. 8d., being at the rate of twenty years' purchase—provided, as offered, he got a good tenant for twenty years. It was ultimately arranged to give £500, Mr Shiells agreeing as tenant, along with Mr Douglas, brewer, Newbigging, for nine years, for mill and houses, at the annual rent of £25, 3s. 4d. This mill, as described by Dr Moir, "stood at the top of the Shire-haugh. It was burned down in 1827; and its site, with the banks of the Esk upward on the eastern side, was sold in the following year by the magistrates of Musselburgh to the present Duke of Buccleuch. The mill itself lay on the slope of the bank by the road-side, and an ancient bridge of one arch spanned the mill lead. To the north of it was the miller's house,

* Between 1555 and 1583 the Abbey of Dunfermline gave a charter of confirmation to "Wm. Scot et Joannis Scot ejus filii de officiis molitorum antiqui et novi molendini de Musselburgh."

a pleasant mansion of two storeys, and at either side of it were minor domiciles for his assistants; a parapet of stone enclosed the whole, together with the gardens; and some venerable ashes and elms spoke of bygone centuries. The boundary walls of Dalkeith Park now encircle the spot, and no vestiges of the buildings remain."

In 1747 the Council disposed of their part of the Burnston or Brunston Mills to the Lord Justice Clerk (Sir Gilbert Elliot of Minto), to be held by him in fee—and agreed to purchase James Crookshanks' share for 4400 merks.

20th Jan. 1749.—The Council agreed to mount the West miln with limestone stones, for grinding wheat, from the Marquis of Lothian's limestone quarries at Newbottle; but as they could not be had there they commissioned as much burrstone from London as would suffice.

17th Nov. 1749.—The Council agreed to purchase from Oliver Coult, writer in Edinburgh, his share of the multures of the mills of Musselbrugh for £250 sterling, the sum he paid for it. His share was a twelfth.

HOW THE TOWN'S INTEREST IN THE MILLS WAS ACQUIRED.

The mills of Musselburgh, as we have seen from the charter of 1562, were reserved by the monks of Dunfermline. The town's interest in them was gradually acquired from parties to whom they had been gifted by the convent. From the title deeds in possession of the burgh, it appears that an act by the court held at Musselburgh was passed in 1555, in favour of *Janet Beaton*, Lady Buccleuch, against the proprietors and tenants of Caldcoat, Newtone, &c., for abstracting their multures from the milns of Musselburgh (as far as vested in the person of Richardson of Smeton.) The year before (April 19, 1554), "Peter Durie, for-

merly living in Saltoune," had a remission, amongst other crimes, "for the treasonable fire-raising and burning of the milnes of Mussilburghe, belonging in lease to Dame Janet Betoune, and destroying and laying waste the same, committed in company with our ancient enemies the English and the traitors of Scotland by the space of three years, viz., 1547, 1548, and 1549." &c. Notwithstanding Dun's remission, not having been able to find security for his future good conduct, he was condemned to be executed.*

Janet Beton was rather a famous person of her time, and is celebrated in the "Lay of the Last Minstrel":—

"In sorrow o'er Lord Walter's bier,
The warlike foresters had bent,
And many a flower and many a tear
Old Teviot's maids and matrons lent:
But o'er her warrior's bloody bier,
The ladye dropt nor flower nor tear,
Vengeance, deep-brooding o'er the slain,
Had locked the source of softer woe,
And burning pride and high disdain
Forbade the rising tear to flow,
Until, amid his sorrowing clan,
Her son lisped from the nurse's knee,
'And if I live to be a man,
My father's death revenged shall be!'
Then fast the mother's tears did seek
To dew the infant's kindling cheek."

Lady Buccleuch was the daughter of John Beton of Cleish, and second wife to Sir Walter Scott of Branxholm and Buccleuch. She had been married twice, it is said, before; first, to the Laird of Cranston, and secondly, to the Laird of Craigmillar (Preston), the latter of whom she left and married Buccleuch. Sir Walter is known in history for his gallant attempt, at the head of one

* Pitcairn's Criminal Trials.

thousand of his retainers, to rescue James V. from the thraldom of the Douglasses, when the king and his guardians were on a progress to the Border in 1526. Scott was prompted to this by his sovereign, who wrote privately, urging him to come to his rescue. Buccleuch was unsuccessful. After several hours' hard fighting he was forced to retire. Many were slain in the encounter. Amongst others, Andrew Ker of Cessford, a person much esteemed and regretted by all parties. A long and violent feud between the Kers and Scotts resulted from this foray, and at last Sir Walter was killed, at Edinburgh, in a nocturnal encounter with Sir Walter Ker of Cessford, in 1552. After his death Lady Buccleuch managed the estate in the most masculine spirit. She possessed the hereditary abilities of the family to such a degree that popular belief attributed her conduct to supernatural agency. She used to ride at the head of the clan at all the feudal gatherings. She was in her widowhood in 1555, when the act respecting the multure of the mills of Musselburgh was passed.

The mills had been gifted away, it would appear, at an early period by the Abbots of Dunfermline, to their clerical friends or relations. In 1566, Mr Robert Richardson, Commendator of the Island of St Mary, Treasurer of Scotland, resigned the *two* corn mills of Musselburgh to Robert, Arch-Dean of St Andrews, Principal and Commendator of Dunfermline. Immediately (2d April 1566) afterwards they were granted in a charter, by the Abbot, to Henry Durie.

In 1567 (12th April) Mr Robert Richardson resigned to the Commendator the *new* miln of Musselburgh, at the foot of the vennel called Kerse (or Ker's Wynd. This new mill is still known as the Sea mill; but at what time it was built does not appear. It must have been some years previously, as we find

Henry Durie, in 1560, granting a charter of the knaveship of the new miln to William Scott.

In 1579 (10th June) Henry Durie had a charter of confirmation from James VI. of the two corn milns of Musselburgh, he and his successors paying yearly therefor £93, 6s. 8d. Scots, with forty-eight capons and two swine, payable at Whitsunday and Martinmas.

Twelve years previously, (7th Nov. 1567) Henry Durie had granted a charter of the two corn milns to James Richardson of Smeton, and Elizabeth Douglas, spouses, and James Richardson, their son, in fee; whom failing, to other heirs. In the charter the mills are described as those formerly possessed by Lady Janet Beatoun, and now, the one of them called the Shire mill, by John Smith, and the other by William Scott, the *new mill*, lately built, lying contigue on the north side of William Scott's, and possessed by him; and also another new mill, built at the end or foot of the vennel called Kerse Wynd. Thus, in 1567, there were four corn mills in Musselburgh, possessed by Richardson of Smeton from Henry Durie, who held them from the Abbot of Dunfermline, and who paid yearly for them the sum already mentioned. This charter was confirmed by Robert, Commendator of Dunfermline, 17th Dec. 1579.

James Richardson of Smeton had a renunciation of the liferent of the new corn miln, built at the north end of the old miln, at the west end of the town, by Margaret Macbeth, spouse to Henry Durie, dated 31st May 1583. The West mills thus consisted of two under the same roof, which, with the Sea and Shire mills, made up the four belonging to Musselburgh.

Amongst the mill papers there are numerous processes, decreets, and hornings, against parties for abstracted multures, in the name of James Richardson, and of his son, Sir James, from 1589 to 1618. Even Musselburgh itself seems to have offended

in this respect. In 1623 there are letters of horning, at the instance of Sir James Richardson of Smeton, against the *haill* inhabitants of Musselburgh. At the same time the burgh seems to have possessed the *knaveship** of the mill in 1594, in which year the magistrates had a decree against certain individuals who had avoided payment of the dues.

In October 1627, Sir James Richardson of Smeton sells and dispones to Thomas Smith, William Scot, and James Robertson, merchants in Musselburgh, the four milns, the two old and two new, "together with the piece of haugh beside the miln called the Shyre miln, as the same lyes in length and breadth betwixt the miln dam and water of Esk;† and also the office of heritable miller of the new or Sea miln, which miller office pertained heritably to William Scot, younger, as heir to William Scot, elder, his father. Also to the said Thomas Smith, the superiority, feu mails and duties of the miller office of the Shire miln and the milrig adjacent, which heritable office pertained to said Thomas Smith. To William Scott, elder, heritable miller office of the two milns under one roof, old and new of West miln, and milrig adjacent, which pertained heritably to the said William Scott." Sir James Richardson to have his own corn ground, and be free of all services whatever. The contract farther contains an obligation to infeft for payment of £100 Scots of feu-farm, with forty-eight capons and two *gaits* (goats), with a clause of absolute warrandice, with and under the exception of 500 merks.

This disposition was ratified (25th Oct. 1627) by Dame Agnes Kerr, Lady Smeton, before the bailie of the Regality of Mussel-

* The *knaveship* is a small allowance of meal, established by usage, in payment of the under miller.

† From this it would appear that the river at this time still flowed in its old course, from the railway bridge, above Inveresk, towards the dam in a more westerly direction, leaving the Shire haugh, or holm, almost wholly on the eastern side.

burgh, and a charter followed thereon by Sir James, with consent of his lady, which was confirmed by a charter under the Great Seal in 1628.

On the 12th April 1628, Thomas Smith and James Robertson, for the sum of 21,666 merks, nine shillings Scots, sell to the magistrates the half of their two-third parts of the four corn milns; also the third part of the haugh, beside the Shyre miln; also third part of the miller office of the new miln, reserving to Thomas Smith the heritable office of miller of the Shyre miln.

Subsequently (date mutilated) James Robertson dispones to the magistrates, for 1200 merks, his remaining portion of the four milns, extending to a sixth part; also his sixth part of the piece of haugh, and sixth part of the office of miller of the Sea miln. This is followed by a precept under the Great Seal from Charles I., dated at Edinburgh 4th April and 25th July 1637, for infefting the burgh in the said half of the two third-parts of the four corn milns, "extending to a just third part of the said haill milns, and of the astricted multures of the lordships thereof, and third part of the haugh beside the Shyre miln; as also of the third part of the superiority, feu maills, and duties of the heritable miller office of the new milns," &c. This was guaranteed by a charter of 4th April 1637.

On the 6th March, 1644, William Scott, living at the West miln of Musselburgh, was served heir to William Scott, in Samelston, of the heritable miller office of the new miln at the foot of Ker's Wynd. This retour is from the Chancery of the Regality of Musselburgh.

Amongst other papers, there is a summons of double poinding, at the instance of the girsters of the milns of Musselburgh, against Swinton of that Ilk, who had a gift of Lauderdale's forfaulture during Cromwell's usurpation, and against Adam Scott, &c., concluding to be found liable in once and single payment

of the knaveship, bannock,* &c., dated 7th, and signed 26th September, 1654.

In a contract entered into subsequently to this time, between the heritors of the mills of Musselburgh and Adam Scott, heritable miller of the two West milns, and the nether miln (Seamill), whereby it was agreed that he should possess the knaveship and the ninth peck of multure, on condition of maintaining the milns in good working order, it is provided that "the *nacket's* and miln boys' dues" should continue "to be as use and wont."

In 1677 (12th Feb.), Adam Scott alienated the heritable office of miller to Messrs James, Patrick, and Francis Scott, writers in Edinburgh.

1715 (7th June), Gideon Scott, of Falnash, grants a disposition to, and in favour of, the Magistrates and Town Council of Musselburgh, of his third part of the heritable office of miller of the three milns. In 1739 (27th and 30th March), they had a disposition by Andrew Bell, of Craigfoadie, with consent of his mother, of their two-third parts of the three milns. Also, another, 5th September, 1747, from James Crookshank, shoemaker in Musselburgh, of his third part of the four corn milns, extending to one full twelfth part of the said milns. Again, 10th Feb., 1750, from Oliver Coult, writer in Edinburgh, as commissioner for Dr Oliver Coult, his uncle, of one-twelfth of the four corn mills, &c.; and latterly (10th Feb., 1759), a disposition of the office of miller of the Shyre miln, and of the milnrig, by Archibald Shiels, to which disposition was annexed an inventory of title-deeds, showing that the same flowed from Thomas Smith, portioner of Inveresk, and were disponed by Robert Smith, his grandson, to the said Archibald Shiels.†

* One of the thirlage duties exacted at a mill.

† As shown by the Council minutes, the town paid Mr Shiels £500 for his rights.

The latest document, in connection with the mills of Musselburgh, is a charter of confirmation by the commissioner of Walter Francis, Duke of Buccleuch and Queensberry, to the burgh, of 2-12ths of the mills, dated 5th May 1829.

The mill of Brunstain, though not in the parish, also became the property of the town. The magistrates had a disposition and charter of the Over-miln of Brunstain from John, Earl of Lauderdale, 25th August 1670. The mill was then in ruins, and the magistrates bound themselves to rebuild it.

In 1775 (1st Feb.), the magistrates had a decreet of declarator against the Earl of Abercorn, whereby it was found that the miln of Brunstain, belonging to the said Earl,* was not one of the milns of Musselburgh, to which the lordship and regality were astricted and thirled, nor did it lie within the lordship and regality. The magistrates seem to have disponed, by charter, of the Brunstain mill in 1696.

THE HARBOUR AND CUSTOMS.

The Harbour dues were not, apparently, of much importance in later times, though it was probably one of the principal ports on the Frith of Forth, before Leith acquired the supremacy. The harbour itself seems to have been situated, except for a limited period, where it now is—perhaps the old Roman site. The dues on the west side of the Esk were called the customs of the Magdalens, Harberrie, and Petty Customs of Fisherrow. As such they were rouped on the 5th October 1697. The first minute respecting the harbour, in the Council Books which have been preserved entire, is as follows :—

* This would probably be the Nether mill of Brunstain, as the town possessed the *Over*, or upper mill. The Nether mill of Brunstain stands a little west of the Magdalen Bridge.

"27 Apryle 1682.—The Counsell upon representance given in to them of the insufficiencie of the harberie, and of Adam Stevenson, shoarmaster, his neglect of dutie to the same, and of the prejudice theirby sustained be the maister and owners of ships comeand within the same, they condescend to a visitance of the said harberie, and appoynts the same to be repaired with balks of timber where the same ar wanting, and to be filled up with stones to the balkes, according to use and wont, and also discharges the said shoarmaster of his office in that pairt, and ordains another persone to be provydit for doing thereof."

"11 July 1687.—The Counsell appoynts the inhabitants to be wairned by turnes to assist at the redding of the harberie, according as they shall be wairned for that effect, ilke persone under the paine of ten shillings for each day's offence."

In 1700, when the Act of the Privy Council was passed, offering freedom of foreign trade to the burghs on payment of a certain tax annually, the town was unwilling to accept of it, because they had "nae forraign trade."

22 Aprile 1700.—The Counsell appoynts the thesaurer and Richard Douglas to goe to Edinburgh, to waitt upon the Commissioner anent the communication of trade, and to take advice of the sheriff what they shall offer, or if the offer already made may be recalled, in regard the towne hes noe forraign trade, and to prevent the burdening of the towne therewith in tyme coming."

It was ultimately agreed that the town should accept the offer of foreign trade at "two shillings in the taxt roll." But this does not seem to have been fully gone into at the time. Thirty years afterwards the following minute occurs :—

"6 July 1730.—Day and date forsaid, the Baillies having represented to the Counsell that they had received a letter from the Committee of the Royall Burrows, requiring them, or some for them, to attend on the 9th instant, at the annuall Convention, in order to pay for their unfree trade, and they knowing that their is none trades in this place but Thomas Curry, who pays a proportion of the Tax Roll, in the toun of Dalkeith, they have theirfor taken out of the charter chest this day ane transcript of

King David's charter, with a charter from the Commendator of Dunfermline, and two Acts of Parliament ratifying the toun's privileges, which they ordain to be sent to Archibald Tod, to the effect he and the assessor may draw a memoriall to the Convention for the toun, and see to get the toun free of paying any share of the Tacks Roll, and to caus return the writts after they have done with them, and to report what they do in that affair, and recommend it to the clerk to desyre the assessor or Mr Tod to write out what the Convention designs or purposes, as they happen to commune on the said subject."

It was ultimately agreed—13th April 1731—to accept the communication of trade for nine years, at the rate of relieving the Royal Burghs of a penny in the pound.

In May 1703, the Council resolve to apply to Parliament for power to levy "two pennies on the pint of ale and beer," for the purpose of building a harbour, the old having become almost useless. The same resolution was adopted in 1704. They did not succeed, however, neither at that period nor still later, 1712, when a more energetic attempt was made.

"5 June 1713.—The which day the Councill condescends that the present magistrates shall caus wairn carts from the inhabitants of this burgh from tyme to tyme, as they shall find it necessary, for cleaning the harbour; and lykeways recommend to them to caus wairn the persons in Fisherrow that have boatts, to cary and bring the stones from the *old* harbour to the *new* harbour; and furder, the Councill recommends to them to appoynt such of the Councill as they think fitt to collect from the inhabitants what money they will voluntarily give, in order to make the said harbour sufficient."

The new harbour was built at the mouth of the river; but the numerous freshes, meeting with the tide, had soon the effect of filling it up:—

22 June 1713.—The which day the Baylies and Councill being fully convened, they condescend to beett and repair what is grown deficient off the harbour at the *water mouth*, and appoynts

ese that had the charge of the contributions last year to give in an account of their depursements * against the next Councill meeting; and farther condescends to cause desyre John Mathie, John Hoge, and William Waddell, to meet with Bailie Tod and Robert Brown, and some others of the Councill, and to take their advice about the harbour and *lead* to it, betwixt this instant and the first of July next to come."

The lead which supplies the West and Sea mills had emptied itself into the harbour at the mouth of the river. It still flows in the same direction. At length it was found necessary to abandon the new harbour :—

"14 June 1740.—The which day the Baillies and Council having mett upon the affairs of the toun, and anent a petition presented them by Sir Robert Dickson of Carberry, setting forth the many advantages that would accrue to the toun by having a harbour for accommodating ships and barks, and craving they would be pleased to build one for that purpose, and they having considered the same, unanimously agree that fifteen acre of the common myre at Parkend, or more, shall be forthwith feued, by way of public roup, to the burghers of this burgh, providing the Councill have ground to believe the same will turn out near to the sum Sir James Dalrymple has offered, and in case it will not, that application shall be made to Sir James upon his former offer, and the sum arising therefrom to be applied for building a harbour where it shall be found most proper."

Sir James Dalrymple had, on the 28th March, 1738, offered to take twelve or fourteen acres of the myre of Fisherrow, at a guinea the acre, which was rejected at the time. Sir James agreed—26th February 1743—to feu eleven acres upon the former terms, and George Chambers took five, on the west side of the Esk, at the same rate. Upon these two annual rents, money was borrowed to the full of the principal, and applied to building a new harbour.

* This is the Scottish word for *disbursements*, and it seems rather a good one.

The work was accordingly commenced 22d Sept. 1743, "upon the sea-coast of Fisherrow," and the Council, continues the minute, "have founded the same upon the *foundation of the old harbour*,* and purpose to carry on the same in the same manner as the same old harbour was built."

Besides the sum obtained by borrowing upon the two feus referred to, voluntary contributions were uplifted for the harbour, and several lots of land in the vicinity feued as timber-yards, salt-pans, &c. In a few years afterwards the harbour again began to get out of order.

"22 Sept. 1752.—The Council agree to apply to the Provost and Magistrates of Edr for the loan of a lighter to clean the harbour—if not, to build one."

The customs of Musselburgh arose from the market dues—grain, meal, and flesh—as well as the two annual fairs. One of the earliest of the minutes is directed against the fleshers:—

"1 Oct. 1691.—The Counsell considering the great abuses committed by the fleshers of this burgh, in bringing in and keeping considerable numbers and herds of nolt and sheep upon the toun's commone ground† and stuble, from the tyme of harvest till the end of the seasone, to the toune's great prejudice and contrar former acts of burgh made anent letting of the ground, as also that both the said inhabitants, fleshers and strangers, brings their flesh to the publick mercat without the skinne and hyde, contrant to the publick laws of the kingdom and constant custome of all uther burghes, and that they do not present the said flesh in ane tyme and all at ance in the mercat-place, but

* The old Roman harbour, we presume.

† Musselburgh had an official called the "Toun Herd." His duty was to take charge of all the cattle belonging to the community put out to graze on the common. We notice, from the town books, that a town herd was appointed in 1756; but the late Dr Moir mentions that he remembers the herd blowing his horn in the morning, to collect the cattle intended to be put under his charge.

parcells the same therto out off the boulkes and slaughter-house in smalls, as they find opportunitie to dispose upon the same, thereby deceiving the leidges, and occasioning ane dearth of flesh in [the] place without necessitie, and that the said flesh sua presented is ather for the most pairt altogidder insufficient of itself or spoyled by blowing, to the great grievance of the inhabitants and leidges, ffor preventing and remeading of which abuses coming, the saids baillies and Counsell statutes and enacts that nae fleshers heirefter within the burgh or liberties keep more nolt or sheep upon the commone ground or stuble at any tyme of the year then the ordinarie stent as ane burges, under the paines formerly enacted theranent, and the contraveeners the said tyme of harvest and therefter to pay for the nolt thretteen shilling 4d, and three shilling 4d Scottes money for the sheep unforgiven, and that both they and the fleshers who are strangers bring the skinnes with the boulk in tyme coming to the publick mercat under the paines inflicted by other burghs for the same, and that they present their meat sufficient and unblown, and all at once in the mercat place about elleven of the cloack on the mercat day, under the paine of confiscatione, and ordaines thir particulars to be published in common form."

There were what was called flesh booths for the accommodation of the fleshers. One of them—(7th Oct. 1700)—was given to "Arch$^{d.}$ Duncan to keep the Scottish schooll in."

"10 Nov. 1701.—The Counsell condescends that the custome house of the Magdalens and flesh-stocks of Musselburgh be repaired at the sight of the baillies and thesaurer the first convenience."

"22 Sept. 1707.—The whilk day the Counsell condescends to cleid the gavall of the guard-house with dailles, in order to putt flesh-stocks therat for accommodation of the fleshers."

The markets were held at the cross. A new market-place, proposed to be built in 1753, behind the Council-House, was finished in July 1755.

Two fairs were held annually, St Loretto's apparently the more important:—

"9 Oct. 1682.—The Counsell appoynts the fair called St Laurett to hold upon Tuesday next, and ordaines intimatione thereof to be made through Dalkeith, and condescends that the same be ridden through the toune's marches by the Counsell and haill burgesses, who are ordained to attend the baillies, the said day, being the 16 instant at 8 of the clock in the morning, in the best order they can, and appoynts ilk burges to be wairned for that effect, under the paine of 5 lib. Scottes ilk persone unforgiven."

Eod. die.

"The Counsell condescends to have ane horse race the second day of the fair, and appoynts ane sadle to be provydit of 9 or 10 libs. pryce, to be run for the said day, and condescends that the horses to run shall not exceed 60 libs. pryce of value."

Minutes in reference to these fairs occur almost annually, the Council frequently altering the days in consequence of their falling upon a Saturday or Monday.

"18 Aug. 1711.—The which day the Council having taken to their consideration the great loss St Laurett's fair of this burgh is at by its not being ridden these many years by past, doe condescend that it shall be ridden this year with all the usuall marks of antiquity and respect and grandor, by all the inhabitants and burgesses of this burgh, and condescend that there shall be a horse race for ane saidle, the second day of the fair," &c.

There is now only one fair, held in August, at which the burgh races or gymnastic games occur. As in most other places, on like occasions, but little business is transacted.

"8 Oct. 1725.—In consequence of the decay of the weekly corn market, and of St Loretta's fair, no custom to be charged on merchandise for seven years to come. This to be intimated in the *Gazette*."

"7 Aug. 1753."—The summer fair ordered to be held on the second Tuesday and Wednesday of August in all time coming.

The town also derived a revenue from the entry of burgesses or unfree traders. The Council books contain many entries in

reference to it. The sum varied according to circumstances and the pleasure of the Council—ranging from £6 to £24 Scots * :—

"23 Sept. 1689.—The Counsell considering the abuse committed by unfree traders, ordain all those who hes traded in buying and selling, or setting up as masters of merchanite trades within the liberties, to be marked as stallangers for byganes, and to discharge them in tyme cuming till they enter burgess."

"12 June 1752."—A petition having been presented to the Magistrates and Council against travelling chapmen and strangers vending goods in the place, they discharge the said strangers, and grant warrant to seize their goods, &c.

Of course all this has been put an end to by the recent act annulling incorporations.

The fishings do not seem to have been at all productive for a length of time back. They were, at the same time, carefully preserved :—

"25 March 1680.—The fishings in the water and damnes to be sett, and all parties prohibited from fishing."

The fishings, in 1706, were let at thirty-seven pounds Scots, or three shillings and one penny sterling. In 1709, the tacksman of the fishings not having got any fish for the two last years, the Council agree to "give him ease of seventeen pounds" of his rent. Nor have the fishings been more profitable of late years.

There were other sources of trifling incomes, such as the use of the town's mortcloths and dead bell. The charge for the use of the cloths, in 1706, was as follows :—

"19 Feb.—This day the Council continues their Act, dated the 23 Sept. 1695, anent keeping ther mortcloaths in favours of Janet Colvill during the Councill's pleasure, she keeping a suffi-

* A register of burgesses has been kept since 1742, down till the recent abolition of incorporations.

cient persone for waiting on the cloaths, for whom she is to be answerable, she exacting only 12s. for the best mortcloath, six shillings for the second mortcloath and the best bairns cloath, and four shillings for the worst bairns cloath."

The trades incorporations were in the habit of hiring out their mortcloths, to the injury of the town; but they were prohibited from doing so in 1712.

To warn the burgesses to attend funerals by intimation through the medium of the bellman appointed for that purpose, was a common practice in former times. Musselburgh had also its *dead bell* :—

"20 Nov. 1699.—Appoynts the thesaurer to agree with John Muckell ffor the new dead bell, and pay therfor, and if the same shall be broken by any succeeding belman that the same shall be repaired on his own expenses, and the bell to pertain to the toune."

Eod. die.

"This day the Counsell appoynts Andrew Ker to be bellman in place of George Ramage deceast, upon this condition that he keep ane exact register of the dead, and shall give the third part of the profits to the defuncts' relict untill the terme of Candlemes next."

"18 Jan. 1739.—The bellman to have five shillings for every funeral, private or not, and two shillings for every child."

INCORPORATED TRADES, MANUFACTURES, FISHINGS, &c.

The incorporated trades of Musselburgh were—wrights and smiths, incorporated by the Town-Council in 1674; tailors, 1693; shoemakers, 1666; shoemakers, tanners, and curriers, 1687; bakers, 1692;* gardeners, 1744; weavers, 1702; flesh-

* Among the town papers there is an "agreement among the bakers within Musselburgh, Fisherrow, Newbigging, and Inveresk, with respect

ers, ; all of which embraced the objects of benefit societies, as well as the regulation of their trading interests. There was also an incorporation of "seamen and mariners," whose charters date from 1668. It consisted of persons of various professions, traffickers, with a separate box and funds of their own. The masons, carters, and others, had societies for the support of their poor. Of these incorporations few notices occur in the Council minutes.

"2 July 1705.—This day the Counsell condescends and agrees that the shoemakers in Musselburgh shall continue the article in the band of unitie wherein it is declared that none of the incorporatione shall take a prentice but one in fyve years, and farder thay ordain the said incorporatione that they shall not lend out their mortcloaths to any persone whatsomever, except only to there own trade, ther wives and bairns, and appoynts the clause in relatione to the mortcloaths to be altered at the baillies' sight."

"4 Feb. 1706.—The Counsell condescends to borrow fyve or six hundred merks, which, with 200 merks formerly due to the incorporatione of seamen in Fisherrow, they agree to grant bond to them for the haill, bearing annual-rent from Candlemas last."

"In the end of last century," says Dr Carlisle,* "a broadcloth manufactory was begun here, and was carried on in great perfection, though not to great extent. Some excellent cloth, both coarse and fine, continues still to be made here by Messrs Cathie, Stewart, Nichols, and Dickson." This manufacture, however, has long ago been given up, it having been found impossible to compete with the English manufacturers. "In the early part of this century," continues the same writer, "they manufactured large quantities of coarse wool into a kind of checks, called Mus-

to their mortcloath belonging to the trade, and obliging themselves not to dispose of their several parts thereof without consent of their haill brethren or major part of them," dated anno, 1638.

* Writing in 1793.

selburgh stuffs, at the price of from 2½d. to 5d. per yard, which were mostly exported to America for gowns to female servants." There are one or two minutes of Council in reference to this branch of trade. On the 8th Nov. 1721, the Council record their having erected a standard for worsted, in conformity with the instructions of the General Convention of Burghs, and intimate that all shall be prosecuted who import worsted not according to the standard :—

"18 July 1726.—The Councill, considering that severall maisters weavers, who were in use to be punished by the magistrates for working Musselburgh stuffs and camlets, &c., contrair to the established standard, and very slight, have of late deserted the place, thinking theirby to be free from any prosecution for their very insufficient work, and also considering that the commodities of these persons who have left the place may, when not wrought according to the established standard, tend in foreign mercats to ruin the consumpt of the stuffs, &c., that are wrought agreeably thereto by the weavers in this place, for remeid thereof the Councill does hereby exact and ordain that if these persons who have left the place shall work any stuffs that shall not agree and correspond to the rules made for working the same, that they shall in all time coming omitt and lose their priveledge and freedom as burgesses of this place, and also the benefit of being members incorporate with the weavers, unless such person or persons return to the burgh against Whitsunday next, to the effect their work may be tried by the proper searchers as usuall, to see that it agree with the standards for length, breadth, and thickness of caulming, and ordains this to be intimate through the toon with took of drum, that none may pretend ignorance, and the maisters to intimate this at the next meeting of their trade."

The want of a fulling mill was much felt by the manufacturers of certain kinds of worsted goods. Proposals for erecting one were entertained many years before it was accomplished.

"17 April 1704.—This day the Counsell having considered a

license, be the heritors of Monktonhall, for building a *walk-miln* upon these lands, to the Laird of Smeton, quhereunto the toune hes right by progress, therefore they condescend the present heritors should be spoken to thairanent, and he recommends to Baillie Smart and Patrick Heriot, elder, to speak to them and to report."

Again :—

"1 Feb. 1714.—The Council considering the great loss the manufactories and dyers of this place sustain by the want of ane fulling or walk miln, and also considering that Mr Sarracott is at present in this country, who understands that kind of affairs, they condescend that the Baylies, with such of the Councill they shall think fitt to call, meet with Mr James Smith and him, and if it appears probable that ther may be a miln gotten, that they procure a liberty from Mr Bell and Falnesk to gett it erected, and to report next meeting."

After various meetings with Mr Coult, Mr Sarracott, Mr Bell, and Falnask, the Council (11th April 1715) agree to purchase the third part of the knaveship of the mill from Falnesk for 2000 marks, yet in 1720 the mill was still a desideratum.

"9 May 1720.—The which day the Councill resolve to proceed with all diligence in order to the erecting their walk miln, in the terms of their act made thereanent, the 12th of October last by past, and before procedure they condescend Baillie Berry and Baillie Smart, and the clerk, go in, Wednesday the eleventh instant, to James Mariott, the Cannie milns, in order to see the walk miln he has erected on the Water of Leith, and to tryst him out on Thursday next, in order to visit the ground where the walk miln is to be built, to see if it will answer for that purpose.

Eod. die.

"The Baillies and Councill condescend to sett the toun's part of the knaveship to John Sampson and Alexander Penman, conjunctlie, for a year ensuing Whytsunday next, for ane hundred pounds Scotts money, they being obliged to bect, repair, and

uphold and pay everything that was usuall for Falnesk,* who was the toun's author."

One thousand merks were borrowed at this time to build the mill, and by the 10th of December 1722 it was in operation. After all, the waulk miln never seems to have been productive, the worsted mauufacture having been gradually pushed out. The miln is now occupied as a dying and scouring establishment.

The manufacture of cotton fabrics was introduced about 1770. This, however, was given up before the end of last century. It employed about 200 looms. Before 1790 the manufacture of Manchester goods, thicksets, waistcoats, handkerchiefs, &c., was attempted on a small scale, and for a time it promised to do well, but was ultimately given up.

There was also a lint mill, but at what time it was erected we have not discovered. On the 22d Nov. 1754, Lord Drummore and Archibald Tod, tacksmen of the mill, applied to the Council to have more ground, so as to convert the lint mill into a barley mill. This was agreed to, at the rate of six pounds Scots yearly for each acre, and the multure of the miln. It is now occupied as a washing and scouring establishment. The clothes from Jock's Lodge, the Castle, and hospitals in Edinburgh are chiefly washed here. It is done by machinery.

According to Dr Carlisle, a china manufacture existed at West Pans, a few years before he wrote, "which received some encouragement from the nobility and gentry, as the artist succeeded well in fabricating ornamental china; but as he never could make tea-table china cheap enough for common sale, and had no stock, it was soon given up." This was a distinct establishment from the pottery for stone and brown ware which has existed at West Pans since the middle of last century. On the 10th Jan. 1754,

* Gideon Scott of Falnask.

the Town Council enacted that "Samuel Lambas, potter at West Pans, should "pay one pound sterling for clay, from Martinmas last to Martinmas next." The pottery is described by Dr Carlisle as "situated in a garden, where, three-score years ago (about 1730), stood the mansion-house of West Pans, then possessed by a family of the name of *Joice*, or *Joicy*, now extinct, whose estate was what is now called Drummore, in the parish of Prestonpans."

Dr Carlisle mentions that several soap-boilers and starch-makers existed in the parish at the time he wrote. One of these, of the latter sort, was carried on upon a very extensive scale at Monkton,* by the Messrs "Atchison, Brown and Co., the proprietors of the great distillery at St Clement's Wells, locally in the parish of Tranent, but on the boundary of this parish, in which they have their rectifying-house, and their malting, where most of the workmen reside. This is a distillery of great extent. The barley made into malt in one year, from July 6, 1791, to July 6, 1792, amounted to 13,131 bolls. They feed off 600 cattle twice a year, besides many hundreds of hogs at the starch work and here." This extensive concern has long ago been abandoned, and scarcely a vestige of the premises remains.

The brewing of ale was at one time a thriving business in Musselburgh. In 1697, according to a list in one of the Court books of the burgh, there were in all twenty-six brewers, maltmakers, and sellers of malt, within the liberties. It is probable, however, that there was no *public* brewery till somewhat later.

"3 March 1704.—The Counsell considering that Sir James Richardson of Smeatoune, taking up a *publick brewery*, and hitherto hes grund his malt multure free, therfor they ordain the multurer to draw the ordinar multure of his malt in tym coming, during the tym of the said Sir James his publick brewery."

* In 1792 this starch work paid no less than £4064, 13s. 4d. of excise duty.

Sir James was in all likelihood the first to establish a public brewery. Dr Carlisle says—"The brewing of beer and ale has much decreased of late, there having been only 1460 bolls of barley made into malt liquor here" during the year ending 6th July 1792. For a number of years past there was only one brewery, belonging to Bailie William Whitelaw, in Fisher's Wynd, Fisherrow; but within these last three years another has been commenced in High Street, by Mr Lyall, which promises to do well.

The tanning and currying of leather has been long and successfully carried on in Musselburgh. There are at present three tanning and currying establishments, belonging to the Messrs Moffat, High Street; Messrs T. & D. Legat, Mill Hill; Messrs Miller, New Street, Fisherrow, who also manufacture bone manure. There are, besides, two currying works, belonging to the Messrs Wilkie, High Street; and Mr John Legat, Mill Hill. The Messrs Easton, skinners, at the Railway Station, manufacture door-mats. The raw hides are procured chiefly from Edinburgh, Russia, and Hamburgh, besides the skins supplied by the local fleshers, which must now be very considerable. The bark is procured from England, Germany, and Holland, and a particular kind from Smyrna.

There were two saltworks in the parish, one at Westpans—so called because situated west of Prestonpans—and the other near to the Magdalen Bridge, now called Pinkie Saltworks. The latter only exists, and is rented by Mr Grieve, who has also the Joppa Pans.

"29 July 1689.—The Counsell condescends to few some rockes and ground upon the west syde of the West Pannes, for building salt pannes, with office-houses, to Sir John Ramsay of Whythill, as the ground is already sighted and designed therfor, the said Sir John paying therfor, conforme to his offer, 300 merkes of compositione at his entrie, with 13s. 4d. yeirly of few

dutie, conforme to ane chartour to be granted by the toune to him theranent, excluding the said Sir John allways from use of pan-hearthings without payment therfor as uthers does, and that he apply the said ground to the forsaid allanerly, and noe uther."

The charter following this resolution was not made out till 1695. Whether this was the first saltpans erected at Westpans, does not appear. It would seem, from the name, Westpans, that something of the kind had existed there before. Mr Robert Jossie then possessed the property called Westpans, and it had been some time in the family. John Wauchope of Edmonstone had a charter of certain lands east of Magdalen Bridge, value four merks, in 1701.

Gardening, for the supply chiefly of the Edinburgh market, was extensively pursued in former years, and is still a considerable branch of business. John Gibson, gardener, Newbottle, had a charter from the burgh of three acres of land in the north community, dated 12th Nov. 1711; and the Society of Gardeners, as already stated, was instituted in 1744. "The nature of the soil," says Dr Carlisle, "is well calculated for early crops, and perhaps the skill they had derived from the example of the Roman colony may have led them to this branch of business, which they still preserve; though they are far from possessing the monopoly of greens and garden stuffs, which they had in more ancient times." So many ages of barbarism, feuds and wars, succeeded the advent of the Romans, that scarcely a vestige of its influence on the character, manners, or arts of the people can be traced. The superiority of Musselburgh for its garden produce may be attributed to the Monks of Newbottle, and the vicars and chaplains of its own religious houses, rather than to the Romans. The Glen Nursery, near Magdalen Bridge, belonging to Mr Handasyde, has long been famous for its dahlias. The Musselburgh onion, for seed, is also much prized.

The rev. statistician farther remarks—"The whole produce of the gardens, together with salt and sand for washing floors, and other articles, *till of late that carts have been introduced*, were carried in baskets or creels on the backs of women, to be sold in Edinburgh, where, after they had made their market, it was usual for them to return loaded with goods, or parcels of various sorts, for the inhabitants here, or with dirty linens to be washed in the pure water of the Esk." We know not the exact meaning attachable to Dr Carlisle's words in this instance; but it is the opinion of not a few writers that carts are only of recent use. Now this is not the fact. Carts or wains are as old as the reign of David I., and the town books of Musselburgh, modern as they are, show that such vehicles were common in the burgh nearly two hundred years ago.

"20 Nov. 1679.—The Counsell condescends to grant the owners of the glasse worke at Leith, eight *cartfull* of stones out of the tounes quarrie, for the use of the said glasse worke."

"22 Sept. 1684."—Sir George Lockhart obtains the loan of a number of carts from the burgh to carry timber.

"25 Oct. 1686.—The Counsell condescend to stent themselves and other inhabitants for leading stones to bigg the Claypoolle dyke, and allows 6/8 for ilk cartfull, leading from the tounes quarrie at Westpannes," &c.

These and numerous other minutes show that the use of carts was by no means rare. The bad state of the roads, however, may have had something to do with the employment of pack-horses, in place of carts, for long journeys.

The fleshers of Musselburgh still carry on a large trade, most of them being engaged in supplying the London market with mutton, besides meeting the local demand.

There are several other branches of industry, of more modern introduction, worthy of special notice.

At Newbigging, there is a small pottery, belonging to Mr Foster, who manufactures dishes of all kinds.

A manufactory of sail-cloth was established on a small scale in 1811. It has since gone on increasing, and latterly been greatly enlarged, the machinery being driven by steam-power. The sail-cloth is of superior quality, and chiefly made use of in the British navy. It belongs to Messrs Gavin & Co., Leith, and is situated at the north end of Mill Hill, near the Links.

Beyond this establishment is Messrs Reddock and Wakelin's oil mill.

The manufacture of hair-cloth was introduced in 1820, by Mr Porteous. It has been vastly extended of late. Satin and fancy figured hair-cloth, curled hair, hair kiln-cloth, hair-lines, and all kinds of fishing hair, girth-web, ropes, twines, &c., are the principal articles manufactured. Horse-hair carpeting, used in the House of Commons, on the recommendation of Dr D. B. Reid, is also produced here.

Other two manufactories of the same kind have recently sprung up, one at Dam Brae, belonging to Mr Primrose, and the other at Mill Hill, belonging to Mr Turnbull.

Fishing-nets were formerly knitted with the hand. About forty years ago, the art of weaving them in a loom was discovered by the late James Paterson, Esq., a native of the parish.* He had been in the commissariat during the last war—in Egypt, the Peninsula, and at Waterloo, in which engagement, notwithstanding his civil capacity, he had mixed in the fray, and with others was swept over by a charge of cavalry. He was, however, picked up afterwards among the wounded. Returning to Musselburgh at the end of the war, and being of an active turn of mind, he set himself to the invention of a machine for making nets. After numerous experiments and trials, he succeeded so much to his satisfac-

* See inscription on headstone in Inveresk Churchyard.

tion, that he took out a patent, and established a manufactory in 1820. In 1839, he had eighteen looms at work, with a spinning machine, employing in all about fifty-two hands. At his death, in 1850, the patent, premises, and machinery, were purchased by Messrs J. & W. Stewart, of Edinburgh, who have so pushed the business that, in their old premises, they employ about 300 persons, and when their extensive new building on the Esk, above the railway terminus, is completed, they will have in their employment more than double that number.

About 1834, Mr N. G. Robinson, an English gentleman who had been resident for some time in the parish, succeeded in a similar invention, without having any communication with Mr Paterson. It differed in the mode of forming the knot, and thereby escaped the patent. Mr Robinson continued the manufacture of nets for some time here, and we believe net-making, under his patent, is at present in operation somewhere about Greenock.

An edge-tool and hammer manufactory has been carried on in New Street, near the Fisherrow Links, for the last eighteen years, by Messrs F. and A. Carrick. They came from Athelstaneford, near Haddington, where the same branch of business had been long and successfully pursued by their father and themselves. The implements made by the Carricks—axes, adzes, hammers, hoes, &c.,—are much celebrated throughout Scotland. They are of excellent make and quality. The best material only is used in their construction, and the name is a guarantee that the purchaser will not be disappointed. A steam-engine is used to drive the series of stones upon which the implements are ground.

There is only one distillery in Musselburgh. It belongs to William Aitchison, Esq., of Drummore.

An extensive vitriol work was established on the Fisherrow

Links about five years ago, by the Messrs M'Kinlay. The fishermen complain that the material used is destructive of the mussel-beds. From whatever cause, the mussels are said to be rapidly disappearing, and bait has to be sought for at a considerable distance.

There are also chemical works at Magdalen Bridge, and a Pithina food manufactory on the west side of the harbour.

A gas-work, from which Portobello is supplied, was established at the west end of Musselburgh Links in 1831.

A pretty extensive and thriving boat-building establishment has been carried on for the last twelve years by Mr Keir, at the harbour. The boats produced here are of the most substantial quality, and are in demand all along the coast. The present season (1857) has been a busy one at the yard.

Near the harbour is Mr Dickson's large wood-yard.

The Messrs Younger, brewers in Edinburgh, have very roomy malting-kilns in Fisherrow.

THE FISHERY.

The white fishing has long been a staple source of income. At what time a colony of fishermen was established at Fisherrow is unknown. They are most likely coeval with the burgh itself. It is absurd to suppose that they were of foreign extraction. The prevailing names are equally Scottish with the other patronymics of the community. When Dr Carlisle wrote (1793) there were forty-nine fishermen and ninety fish-wives. Although there were so many men, there were only seven boats. The fish-women often sold the produce of the Fife boats as well as of their own, which was regarded as a benefit rather than otherwise to the community—so much so, indeed, that the Town Council prohibited all supplies of mussels to the Fife fishermen, unless to such as brought over fish. In 1727, all persons were dis-

charged from selling mussels "to boats over the water;" but, in 1734, this enactment was in so far modified that no inhabitant was to sell mussels to the Fife boats "unless they bring fish to sell."

The fish-wives have always been considered a peculiar race. Dr Carlisle has recorded a few traits of them worthy of being repeated here:—"The fish-wives, as they are all of one class, and educated in it from their infancy, are of a character and manners still more singular than the former [the other carrying women], and particularly distinguished by the laborious lives they lead. They are the wives and daughters of fishermen, who generally marry in their own caste, or tribe, as great part of their business, to which they must have been bred, is to gather bait for their husbands, and bait their lines. Four days in the week, they carry fish in creels (osier baskets) to Edinburgh, and when the boats come in late to the harbour in the forenoon, so as to leave them no more than time to reach Edinburgh before dinner, it is not unusual for them to perform their journey of five miles by relays, three of them being employed in carrying one basket, and shifting it from one to another every hundred yards, by which means they have been known to arrive at the Fishmarket in less than three-fourths of an hour.*

"While haddocks were in abundance on the coast, great quantities were taken by the seven boats of Fisherrow; though the best fish for many years have been brought three times a-week from Eyemouth on horseback, and unloaded here, to be carried in creels to Edinburgh, by which means the carriers are enabled to reach home the same day. For seven years past, since

* "It is a well-attested fact, that three of them, not many years ago, went from Dunbar to Edinburgh, which is twenty-seven miles, with each of them a load of herrings on her back, of 200 lb., in five hours. They sometimes carry loads of 250 lb."

the haddocks have disappeared, and few fish are to be caught by the Fisherrow boatmen, on account of their distance from deep water, where the fish are to be found, it is usual for them to meet the boats from the east end of Fife, half-way down the Frith, and to purchase their fish. In the summer season the boats from that coast frequently run over to Fisherrow, and sell their cargoes to the fishwomen here. This they do rather than run up to Leith, because they can dispose of their fish immediately, and sail home again to their respective harbours, on the same day with the ebb tide. The fish-wives who carry to Edinburgh, gain at least 1s. a-day, and frequently double and triple that sum."

Such was the state of the fishing when Dr Carlisle wrote. In 1839, when the *New Statistical Account* of the parish was written, there were 28 large boats, and 140 fishermen—the same proprietors having an equal number of small boats. The large boats, we are told, "average from 18 to 22 tons, and are from 33 to 37 feet long, from 10 to 13 wide, and about 5½ deep. About the middle of July the large boats are prepared for the Caithness fishing, from which they return about the middle of September. They then make use of their small boats to fish off North Berwick and Gullan till the herrings come into the Frith, which is generally in December, when they go to the deep-sea fishing, about twenty-five to thirty miles east of the Isle of May. In good weather a boat makes two trips in the week."

Since 1839 there has been a very considerable increase both in the number of boats and men :—

Boats engaged at the herring fishery this season, .	49
„ of a less size for oyster dredging, &c. (unused at present), ...	12
Pilot boats, ...	2
Total of sea-going boats, . . .	63

An average of five men to each of the forty-nine boats gives in all 245 men. Of these, however, only about 180 belong to Fisherrow—most of the boats having one or more strangers, called half-share men (not having nets). A number of these are from Yarmouth, a few from Ireland, and elsewhere.

The value of boats and nets engaged in the herring fishing this season, estimating each at £130, will not be less than £6370.

In May 1852, a few of our more enterprising hands proceeded to the Yarmouth grounds, a distance of 300 miles. Their success stimulated others, and every season since the fleet has increased. This year there are twenty boats at Yarmouth—some of them quite new and large, having been built for the purpose, and costing considerably above £100. Averaging each of the twenty boats at that sum, and the nets (fifty each, being double quantity, at £3, 10s., including mounting) at £175, there will not be less than £5500 of property from Fisherrow embarked in the Yarmouth fishery this season.

Although the fishing statistics are thus highly flattering to the industry of the place, it must be admitted that the community labour under great disadvantages, in consequence of their distance from the fishing grounds. In winter the men endure great hardships. They are often away two or three days at sea, encountering storms, and are frequently compelled to take shelter in strange ports, where the expense of maintaining a crew of five or six men soon swallows up a few days' gain. In winter they are certainly a badly remunerated class.

The fishermen have a friendly society of their own, and a number of them belong to the masonic order. A few are office-bearers in our churches. There is no seamen's chapel here, but a very nice place of worship was fitted up two years ago by the Auxiliary of the Scottish Coast Mission, where their agent, a ship-master, officiates, and occasionally the several ministers in

town. It is particularly well attended by the women in their fisher dress.

Musselburgh had an act of the Royal Burghs, for "packing and peeling herrings," dated 3d July 1611.

The opening of a branch of the North British Railway between Edinburgh and Musselburgh has added vastly to the facilities of communication. Even the fishwives find it profitable to travel by it. The station, which is handsome and commodious, is situated at the east end of the old bridge.

SCHOOLS AND EDUCATION.

Of the state of education in Musselburgh, Dr Carlisle speaks very highly. He says—"There has been a flourishing Grammar School in this place, under the patronage of the Magistrates and Town Council (with the minister), who, upon an agreement with the heritors of the parish, settled a salary on the master, payable out of their funds, in lieu of which they accepted of the dues arising from mortcloths at funerals, which were part of the funds at the disposal of the heritors. The schoolmaster has a salary of £28 per annum, and a good house and garden."

There are numerous references to the schools of Musselburgh in the Council books; though they do not go far enough back to record the period of their institution. The first we have noticed is as follows:—

"20 Feb. 1660.—The whilk day the Baillies and Counsell being frequentlie conveened in thair ordinar place of meitting, and taking to their serious considerationes sundrie petitiones given in befor thame be Mr George Adie, mayster of thair gramer schoole, for some augmentatione of his feall,* as also they considering and taking particular notice how carefullie and diligentlie he hes attendit upone the schoole and scolleres committed to his charge since his entrie, and hes behaved himself discretlie and piouslie

* Salary

in his liffe and conversation, doe thairfor, all in ane voce, condiscend and agree to give unto the said Mr George yeirlie, and ilk yeir dureing his faithfull and diligent service in the said schoole, the soume of ffourtie punds Scots of augmentation, at twa times in the yeir, whitsunday and martimes, proportionallie; the whilk sowme the baillies and counsell doe for thameselves and thair successoris in thair places and offices, ordore to be payet be thair respective toun thesaurers to the said Mr George yeirlie and timelie as said is, notwithstanding (for reasones knawen to thameselves) it be not insert in his tak. Beginnand the first termes payment thairof at witsunday next to cum, 1660 instant. In token heirof they have desyred me, George Vallange, thair toun clerk, to subscrybe thir presentes as followes.

G. VALLANGE."

The next notice shows that, although nineteen years later, there was also a Latin school:

"22 Sept. 1679.—The Counsell condescends that Mr James Provane, master of the Latine Schooll, shall be continued as schoolmaster of the said school for the space of three years after the term of Mertimes next, and that the former contract betwixt the Counsell and him be renewed to that effect.

Eod. die.

"The Counsell condescends that John Smyth shall be master of the Scottish Schoole, and that he shall be obleiged to serve in the said office, as James Hodge, late schoolmaster therof, wes in use to doe of before, and noe utherwayes."

The school thus styled the *Scottish School*, in opposition to the Latin School, was no doubt the same institution spoken of before as the Grammar School. It is worthy of remark that schools for the mother tongue were called Scottish, not English, schools, prior to the Union. Showing that, whatever Chalmers and others have argued about the Scottish tongue being derived from the Anglo-Saxon, the belief at large was that it had a different origin.

"3 Sept. 1686.—The Counsell appoynts their number to

meet this day eight-days for choysing ane schoolmaster for the Grammar School, and condescends that the person to be admitted shall have 200 merks yeirly of salarie in tyme coming, he allways taking the test* befor his admission."

24 March 1699.—This day the Councill being mett, have condescended, notwithstanding of the former Act of Councill, to give a salarie of 120 lb. Scots, which is heirby declared to be allenarly given att my Lo. Lauderdale's desire, and that the foresaid salarie is only to continue ay and while the schoolmaster shall gett the precentor's place, at which tyme the foresaid salarie is to be restricted to one hundred merks, and which 120 lib. the Councill heirby declares that they will give the said salarie to noe other person except Mr Toshoch."

About the beginning of the last century there seems to have been some misunderstanding between the burgh and the heritors of the parish as to the support of the schoolmaster :—

"18 Nov. 1700.—This day the Counsell appoynts Baillie Smart, the thesaurer, and Richard Douglas, to goe to Edinburgh to-morrow, to speak with Sornebegg† and Sheriff Calderwood anent the provyding ane schoolmaster, and to report to the Counsell against the next meeting, and to signifie to them that the heritors are obleiged by Act of Parliament to provide his salarie."

"13 June 1702.—The Counsell appoynts the two present Baillies and Baillie Vernor, or any two of them, to speak with Sir Robert Dicksone anent the getting of a schoolmaster, and to report."

Whether this misunderstanding occurred respecting the appointment of a new master to the Grammar School, or referred to a third teacher, does not appear. There never was any parochial school, however. At length the Council came to terms. On the 9th Nov. 1702 they agree to pay the salary of the school-

* The Test Act, which created so much disturbance amongst the Whigs of the west country. The Musselburgh authorities seem to have been less squeamish.

† Sir Robert Dickson of Sornebeg.

master, with this proviso, that the heritors shall make him session-clerk and precentor, and have half of the fees. 4th Feb. 1703.—In consequence of a letter from Mr Wm. Calderwood, Mr James Bain is appointed schoolmaster for three years, and to have a salary of 200 merks.

In 1714, after the Union, we find that what was called the *Scottish* is styled the *English* School. On the 22d May of this year, "Mr Wm. Keith, of late schoollmaister of an *English* schooll in Dalkeith," was appointed master.

The following bequest affords some data in tracing the progress of the Latin school:—

"25 Jan. 1731.—The Councill, considering that the deceased John Wightman of Mauldslie, Lord Provost of Edinburgh, had mortifyed the heretable bond he had on Andrew Coalzier's houses, with the bygane and current annual rents theirof to the town, in order that the annual rents theirof should by the Magistrates and Councill of Musselburgh be by them in all time coming bestowed on furnishing cloths to back-fallen burgesses sons, who should be educate at the Latine School of this burgh, the Councill thairfor agree that their shall ane adjudication be forthwith led on the said heritable bond, to the effect that the bygane annualrents and penalty theirin contained, be united into the principall; and they also, considering that the houses they formerly purchased as a schoolmaister's house, will not be by far so convenient as the houses contained in the foresaid heretable bond for a schoolmaister, they therefor condescend that these houses shall be converted to that use, and that such sums as shall correspond with Provost Wightman's mortification shall be duly made good out of the toun's other funds, to the effect that his charitable design may subsist in all time coming, and agree to roup and sell the other tenement formerly bought for a schoolmaister's house against Tuesday the ninth of February next to the highest offerer, at the Clerk's Chamber, by two o'cloack, and that the money that shall arise from the sale thairof shall be bestowed in inclosing the ground at the back of the Tolbooth for a new mercat place, and for building a new court place above

the entry thairto, to enter off the present stair of the Tolbooth, and recommend it to any of the Councill that incline to attend the forsaid roup, and ordain it to be intimate through the toun by tuck of drum."

The following minute in reference to the Latin School we consider peculiarly interesting :—

"27 April 1722.—Considering that there was a comparative tryall for a Latin schoolmaster, upon the third of February last, before Sir David Dalrymple,* the Rev. Mr Alexander Carlisle,† Mr George Logan,‡ and Mr Hugh Blair,‖ judges appointed for the said tryall, the said judges, after hearing several candidates, found that Mr William Jeffry, now schoolmaster in this place, was fittest for the said office, therefore the baillies and Councill appointed him to be Latine schoolmaster *ad certum ut culpum* in this place, and allow him the salarys and others, as mentioned in the act of Council, the first day of February last," &c.

Mr Jeffrey, who had the honour of so learned and famous a bench of judges, did not belie their decision. The Latin School, which had gone sadly down under his predecessor, speedily rallied, and he became so popular a teacher that numerous temptations were held out to him to remove to other localities. The magistrates, however, wisely resolved to augment his salary. In 1758, it was necessary to build a new school-house for the accommodation of pupils.

The English and Latin schools of former times are now known as the Grammar School, which has long enjoyed a high reputation. The rector has a salary of £27, 4s. 5d., together with a house and school. There are other two schools supported by the burgh—one in Musselburgh, the teacher of which receives

* Lord Hailes, well known for his numerous works, "The Annals of Scotland," &c., illustrative of Scottish history and antiquities.

† Dr Carlisle, minister of Inveresk, universally reputed a learned and talented man.

‡ Logan, the poet and divine.

‖ Blair, author of the "Belle Lettres," &c.

£12 and a house; and one in Fisherrow, with a salary of £17, including house rent. There are, besides, three schools belonging to the Free Church, with an average attendance of 400 children.

Some years ago a school was built and endowed near Magdalen Bridge, by the late Sir Charles Ferguson of Kilkerran, Bart.

For nearly a century back there have been boarding schools for young ladies and gentlemen in Musselburgh, one of the most flourishing of which, for young gentlemen, has been conducted many years by the Rev. Thomas Langhorne, Episcopal minister, at his pleasant villa of Loretto. Considerable additions, in hall and sleeping apartments, have just been made to this seminary, which will add greatly to its accommodations. The house occupies the ground where once stood the famous chapel of "our Lady," and is in the immediate vicinity of the Links and the sea.

Mr Balfour, who lately resigned his situation as teacher of the Grammar School, and which he conducted for the last twelve years with eminent success, has just opened a boarding school for boys at Campie House. Having purchased this delightful villa, he has made considerable additions to it, and the arrangements are upon the most approved principles. The dormitories are large, airy, and elegant, and the dining-hall and other apartments are commodious and cheerful. The class-rooms are entirely new, well lighted, and well ventilated, while the play-ground—adapted for all states of the weather—is at once ample, open, and pleasant, yet retired. Campie House stands a short distance west of the old bridge of Musselburgh, and was originally built by the family of the late Admiral Milne. Subsequently the present Earl of Stair occupied it for some time. The house itself is in excellent repair, and the grounds, extending to about five acres, are laid out in gardens, shrubbery, and lawns, in the most tasteful manner. The boarders have free use of the

grounds, and the house is within easy access of the sea. We know of few more attractive localities for educational purposes.

There is no parish school; yet between public, congregational, and private establishments, no want of schools is felt either in Musselburgh or the various villages throughout the district.

From the Rev. Adam Colt's report of the parish in 1627* we learn that before 1609 James VI. had endowed a music school in Musselburgh. He says :—"Item, there is ane musick schooll in Musselburgh, quhairvnto vmquhile King James, quha lait deceissit, of worthie memorie, giftit iij^{c} merkis money furth of the yeirlie dewtie of the erectit lordeship of Newbattle. This pensioun wes gevin be the vmquhile Kingis majestie to vmquhile Mr Andro Blakhall, minister for the tyme at the said kirk of Mussilburgh, and to his sone Mr Andro Blackhall, present minister at Abirlady, to the vse and behove of the said musick schooll, and the said Mr Andro hes sauld and disponit the said pensioun, sua that the parochine and the schooll is frustrat of his majestie's gift."

Amongst the town's papers there is a decreet of declarator (20th Jan. 1604), and for payment, at the instance of Mr Andrew Blackhall, as music master of Musselburgh, against Mark Lord Newbattle, Sir Thomas Hamilton of Monkland, and others, declaring the extent of their possessions, and proportioning the same upon the lands belonging to Lord Newbattle, Sir Thomas Hamilton, and others.

Besides the pension to the music master, or perhaps in consequence of its disposal by Mr Andrew Blackhall, Charles I. gifted to Charles Earl of Dunfermline, as Bailie of the Lordship of Musselburgh, and to the Magistrates, Council, and inhabitants, the right of presentation of a music master to the burgh; as

* Report of the Ecclesiastical Revenues of the Parishes, ordered by the Church in that year, published some time ago by the Maitland Club.

also to the Magistrates and Council the yearly pension of two hundred pounds Scots, to be uplifted furth of the feu and blench duties payable to the Crown furth of the lordship and barony of Newbattle, belonging to the Earl of Lothian. This gift is dated 15th July 1630. It is somewhat singular that the burgh does not still enjoy the gift, and that there is no music school.

DESCRIPTION OF THE BURGH.

Musselburgh and Fisherrow, to all intents and purposes one town, are delightfully situated at the mouth of the Esk—the river, wide, shallow, and clear, gliding gently between. Musselburgh proper runs along the eastern bank in a north-east direction. It seems to have originally consisted of one main street, stretching from the West mill to Pinkie House. The street, as it now exists,* is a spacious one, blending an air of antiquity with modern elegance. The burgh was formerly enclosed with gates at the eastern and western extremities. Two rather massive pillars mark where the former was placed. They bear the burgh arms, and have the date 1770. The western gate closed the old bridge against intrusion in that quarter. Part of the iron-work connected with it still remains in the parapets of the eastern arch. All without these gates were considered not "within burgh," but in the liberties. Hence the attempt, in 1702, to deprive the representatives of Newbigging and Fisherrow of their seats at the Council board. The village of Newbigging, which is of considerable antiquity, joins Musselburgh on the east, and forms a natural extension of the town in that quarter The Mill Hill, a back street towards the river, derives its name from the site of the Sea mill, which, as well as the West mill, is still maintained in excellent working order.

* Formerly what was called the Midraw, from the Cross upwards, divided the street into two.

Fisherrow occupies the west bank of the Esk. It seems to have originated in an irregular line of fishermen's houses along the shore near the harbour. From the minute of Council (24th Sept. 1702) already quoted, we learn that Fisherrow, Bridgend, and Mercat-gate were distinct places. Together with the bridge the latter formed the highway to England from time immemorial till the erection of the new bridge in 1807. There had been a considerable space between Mercat-gate and Fisherrow in 1702. The sea is known to have washed up to the back of Main Street. Musselburgh and Fisherrow are connected by three bridges, two of stone, and one of wood for foot-passengers.

The Old Bridge.—The oldest existing memorial of Musselburgh is apparently the old bridge. "It is most likely," says Dr Carlisle, "that it was a work of the Romans, as they certainly had many houses in what is now called Fisherrow, as well as their haven for shipping, and could not possibly suffer their colony to be divided, and their harbour separated from their fort by a river that is frequently impassable for many days together. This bridge has many marks of antiquity; and as several parts of the arches approach nearly to a straight line, the frame or coom on which it was raised must have sunk while it was building. The arches are 50 feet wide, their spring only 10 feet. Whoever built it must have intended to place the approaches to it out of the reach of the tide, which is the case to this day, and demonstrates that the coast is not materially changed, or that the sea has not gained on the land since that period, as the site of the harbour proves that it has not receded from it." It is generally considered that the sea has receded from the mouth of the Esk, in consequence of the bar, formed by the debris of the river, while it has encroached upon the land towards Portobello. In 1547, at the Battle of Pinkie, the English vessels of war came so close in to the town at the water

mouth as to command the bridge, a feat which could not be done by similar vessels at the present day, owing to the shallowness of the water.

The bridge leads in a direct line from what was the Roman prætorium towards the harbour, and may have been constructed by the conquerors of Valentia; but it must have undergone so many repairs as to leave no vestige of Roman architecture in it. It has all the characteristics, however, of considerable age. The date assigned to it in the Maitland MSS. is about 1520, when it was either rebuilt or thoroughly repaired by Lady Janet Hepburn. In an engraving of the Battle of Pinkie, in 1547, published at the time, and attached to a French account of the engagement, reprinted by the Bannatyne Club, the bridge distinctly appears with two arches only. The fact of the west gate having been placed at the end of the second arch, and the twist in the third to face the old church road, seem confirmatory of its having been a more recent addition, yet it cannot be of a very modern date. Indeed, judging from present appearances, it is impossible to say which of the three arches is the most ancient. In 1597, the Scottish Parliament passed an Act for repairing the bridge of Musselburgh, and we know that it had again become dilapidated in 1687, in the Council minutes of which year the *mid-bow* is specially mentioned. It is thus probable that the eastern arch was added in 1597, and the other two either wholly rebuilt or repaired upon the same model.

The town books show that frequent patchings were necessary. In 1687 it is spoken of as "the meikle bridge," implying that there were others:—

"27 June 1687.—The Counsell condescend to help the beatrage at the meikle bridge, for securing the bridgend doores the most sure and convenient, at the sight of the present baillies, with such of the Counsell as can be present."

This of course refers to the doors of the west gate; but the following minute concerns the bridge itself:—

"18 June 1688.—The Counsell condescends that all within the libertie having carts shall lead three cartfull stones, each person, from the Magdalens or elsewhere, as shall be appoynted, for fortifieing the midland stook of the meikle bridge and beatrige at the Bridgend doores, and ordains the inhabitants, conforme to ane list to be made of them, to be wairned by quarters for lifting and laying of the saids stones, and making ane cast through the mid-bow for ane new channell to the watter, under the penaltie of threttie shillings for ilke cart, and ten shillings for the persone who shall happen to be deficient.

"9 July 1688.—The Counsell condescends that ther number shall attend by turns upon the making of the cast at the meikle bridge, two each day, as they shall be advertised by the baillies, under the penaltie of 40s. who failles."

On the 19th July 1697 another minute occurs, directing the *beatrehds* of the meikle bridge to be repaired. There were other two bridges—one over the Magdalen burn, and another at the eastern boundary of the parish—all of which the town was bound to keep in repair. A few years afterwards it was spoken of simply as *the* bridge:—

"2 July 1705.—The Counsell condescends to lay beatreachds about the landstoolls of the bridge, and also to help the beatrich at the Bridgend, and ordaines the same to be furthwith done," &c.

The floods in the river are repeatedly mentioned as having inflicted damage:—

"11 Oct. 1708.—The Counsell, considering that the frequent spets of the water has alreadie taken away good part of Leccass' Green, and lyke to take away the remainder, therefor they condescend that ilk inhabitant burges send a man, as they shall be wairned, to work and cast a gau for the current of the water, as they shall be directed by any of their number, and that ilk person who have carts also send the same and their horses when wairned, under the penaltie of twenty shillings Scots, *toties quoties*."

On the 29th Nov. 1708, as the *pellats* of the bridge were likely to be taken away by the current, the inhabitants were ordered to be wairned to repair the same. In 1716 it is again spoken of as the *meikle bridge*. On the 8th July it is ordered that "a bitrich be made above the meikle bridge," the water being "like to break in upon the dam." By the dam we presume is meant the mill lead. 1st July 1628, the edgings of the *meikle bridge* were ordered to be repaired. Again :—

"15 May 1742.—The baillies and Counsell agree that the meikle bridge be instantly mended where tradesmen shall think proper, as also repair the cross and the trone in the toun of Musselburgh, as also that the bridge called the Maitland Bridge be looked to by tradesmen, and mended where they shall think proper."

Such are a few of the notices found in the town records respecting the *meikle bridge*. It is a very picturesque structure. Down to 1807 it formed one of the principal passages across the Esk. Along it have marched the greater portion of those invading or repelling forces, from the days of the Romans downwards, in the numerous wars recorded in our history. Many a time has the chivalry of Scotland, as well as all that was kingly and noble, passed along its narrow pathway to do battle with their "auld enemies of England." So also has it borne the proud pennant of the South, under the Edwards, and their numerous hosts, bent on the humiliation of the North. Cromwell, too, marched over it in triumph after the ill-managed affair of Dunbar. So did Prince Charles on his way to and from the easily-gained field of Prestonpans. It is now very properly preserved as a relic, foot-passengers only being allowed access to it.

The Tolbooth.—The next most striking object of antiquity is the Tolbooth, which stands nearly in the centre of the High Street. The body of the structure is understood to have been erected, in 1790, of materials taken from the famous Chapel of

Loretto. The building, or rather rebuilding, of the Tolbooth with the stones of *Laureit* was perhaps the first sacrilege of the kind committed in Scotland, and, it is said, incurred the vehement denunciations of the Romish Church; for although the Reformation was nominally accomplished in 1560, the Romish priesthood continued for many years afterwards in possession of their livings. The Old Tolbooth, or Town-House of Musselburgh, was destroyed by the English under the Earl of Hertford in 1544, and probably never had been reconstructed till 1590. Dr Moir states that the ancient charters of David I. and Pope Gregory IX. were made away with at that time; but he does not give his authority, and the fact seems more than doubtful, because the charters of David and the Pope were granted to the Monks of Dunfermline, and not to the magistrates of Musselburgh, consequently they were not likely to be in their archives. Besides, the destruction of the charters is attributed to a later event, after the disaster of Pinkie. The spiral steeple, overtopping the premises, probably formed a portion of the original building, and escaped the fire. It is of peculiar construction and great age. The old dial of the clock bore the date 1496. It was of a very primitive description, and is said to have been a present from the Dutch States, with which there was a trading intercourse in early times. It was renewed, however, in 1852. A brass plate attached to the work, recording the fact, is supposed to have been stolen many years ago by the person in charge of the machinery. The Council rooms and hall are of more recent erection, and bear the date 1762. They enter from the Tolbooth stair, over the doorway of which, in the lobby, is the following inscription, in black letter, with the burgh arms between :—

"Magistrates do justice in the fear of God, ju. 16. 1773. He that God doth fear will not to falsehood lend an ear."

The Tolbooth buildings are repeatedly mentioned in the Council books :—

"4 Jan. 1700.—The Counsell condescends that the steeple be repaired, and for that effect appoynts Thomas Tod,* thesaurer, to buy timber to repair the lyning, and refers to the present baillies and thesaurer to agree with workmen upon a penny for timber to the outside therof, and working the same."

"23 June 1701.—The Counsell condescends that the roof of the Tolbooth, the chappell gavell, the Cross, and east port, be repaired at the sight of the thesaurer and any two of the Counsell."

In the *Old Statistical Account*, Dr Carlisle says—"Till about thirty years ago (1760) there was a middle row of houses eastward from the Tolbooth, one of which had been a chapel, called *Chapel Gavel*." From the above minute, however, it seems that the building was simply called the *Chapel*, and that, like the roof of the steeple, the gavel of the chapel was to be repaired. The gavel had been used for the support of flesh-hooks, hence its being in want of repair. Another and a later minute seems to confirm our opinion :—

"22 Sept. 1761.—The Counsell agree that sheads, supported with timber, and covered with wood, and pitched and tarred, be erected in the *west gavell* of the mid-raw of Musselbrugh, and another at the back of the Tolbooth stair, in order to shelter those who come with greens, &c., to the mercat."

This chapel was probably called St James's—at least such a chapel is mentioned in Colt's report of the parish.

The Mid-row, it would thus appear, existed in 1761. Its removal added greatly to the width and beauty of the street. The cross, however, a rare relic now-a-days, still occupies its position. It consists of a pedestal and pillar, surmounted by a lion rampant, bearing a shield with the arms of the burgh.

* Thesaurer Tod depurst 248 lib. 1s. 10d. Scots, for the reparation of the steeple at this time.

"16 Jan. 1716.—The Councill considering that the rooff of the Tolbooth is become ruinous, and that the slaites are all loose and dropping off, they recommend to the Baillies to repair the same with the first good weather, and that they serk what is to be repaired with new deles."

The new Council-House had not been built at this time, and curiously enough there seems, from the following minutes, to have been no fire-place in the old Court-hall :—

"16 Jan. 1716.—The which day the Councill, considering the disadvantage the magistrates sustain in holding meittings, or keeping Courts in such cold weather, they allow the Baillies to affix a brace in the Council-house, to serve for a fyre in cold weather."

A farther repair of the steeple took place in 1744 :—

"14 July 1744.—The Counsell, considering that the toun steeple is much ffailed in the foundation of the timber work, and that it is in great danger of falling down, they unanimously agree that James Vernor and John Heriot, wrights in Musselburgh, view the said steeple, and directly fall to the repairing of it; and appoynts George Young, the town treasurer, to attend at said work, and advise the tradesmen in the working said work."

Again :—

"1 July 1758.—The Counsell agree that the whole gray slates be taken off the roof of the Tolbooth, and the same be covered on both sides with blew slates; and that Thomas Murray, slaiter, execute the work at £4, 7s. 6d. per rood, he furnishing every material, and tirring the old roof, and that he furnish all scaffolding nails, for which he shall be allowed one pound sterling."

On the 21st July 1758, it was agreed "that the side walls of the Tolbooth be raised as high as shall bring the new roof to be put up eighteen inches below the square."

The Tolbooth contains three rooms—a debtor's room, a lock-up, and another cell. The Town-hall, clerk's chambers, and

keeper's apartment, are all, of course, in connection with the building. There is a list extant of all the rebel prisoners received into custody at the jail, between the 19th February 1746, and the 13th September of the same year, in which are recorded the time of their caption, the place where taken, the expense of their subsistence, and other particulars. They seem not to have been treated with any ceremony, as the following indorsement on this document, by the town treasurer, plainly hints—"ffor *straw* to ye prisoners, £5, 3s."

Other Old Buildings.—There are still a few houses of early date in the main street of Musselburgh, but the most ancient and interesting was removed in 1809. We allude to the house in which the great Randolph died. It was in good repair when Dr Carlisle wrote, and stood near the east end of the town, on the east side.* The *Old Statistical Account* contains an engraving, with a ground plan, of the premises. An erroneous account of this venerable building is given in the *Gazetteer of Scotland*. It was not "a two-storied house, buttressed in front, with conical Flemish windows, each surmounted with a sculptured rose," † but a plain building. Dr Carlisle describes it, and the engraving bears out the description—as "a vaulted house, of two rooms on the ground floor; the rooms are about 14 feet square, and the arch 8 feet high, with a passage between them 6 feet wide. This might well have been the best house in the town 460 years ago." The walls were three feet in thickness. The Earl of Murray was second in command at the battle of Bannockburn, and together

* Dr Moir states that the site is now occupied by the two-storey house built by the Morrison's Haven Masonic Lodge; but we have been assured that the real site is within what is now the enclosed grounds of Pinkie House.

† On the west side, nearly opposite, there is an old-looking house, which, with the exception of the buttresses, externally answers this description.

with the "good Lord James Douglas," an especial favourite of Robert the Bruce, the ever-memorable assertor of Scotland's independence. Randolph was Regent at the time referred to. The Baliol insurrections—encouraged and aided by England—after the death of Bruce, are well known. Dr Moir says that in consequence of preparations on the part of England to invade this country, Randolph had advanced with an army as far as Coldbrandspath, on the frontier of Berwickshire, but on learning that a naval force threatened his rear, he returned homewards with the view of providing for the safety of the capital. On reaching Walliford, near the confines of the parish of Musselburgh, he was seized with a dangerous illness. The magistrates immediately provided for his accommodation. He was conveyed on a litter to the nearest house within the east port, and the citizens are said to have watched, in relays, over the great man till his death, which occurred on the 20th July 1332. Grateful for their kindness, his nephew and successor, the Earl of Mar, desired them to make some request regarding the extension of their burgh privileges, which he would be happy to grant. Their answer was that they wished nothing, having only done their duty. Upon this the Earl is said to have observed, "Sure you are a set of honest fellows." Tradition has it that from this circumstance the motto of the burgh, "Honesty," was adopted.

At the Dam Brae, a back street, there was, until lately, the Musselburgh Kilwinning Lodge, built in 1612.* This was, perhaps, the most ancient building devoted to masonry in Scotland. Even Kilwinning, mother Kilwinning, possesses no such tangible evidence of her once proud position in connection with the craft.

At the Dam Brae there is still a well, celebrated for the excel-

* It has been rebuilt or remodelled, and now forms part of Mr Primrose's hair-cloth manufactory.

lence of its water, called "the vicar's well," from which it is believed the present Manse occupies the site of the ancient vicarage. It lies to the south-east of the Brae, and the wall of the ground approaches pretty close to the mill lead, or dam, as it is called. It is well surrounded with old trees. The present Manse was built in 1807, but the former building, on the same site, dated back to 1681. It was here where Dr Carlisle used to draw around him so many of the *literati* of last century. Robertson, Hume, Mackenzie, Campbell, Logan, Stuart, Home, Smollet, Beattie, and Hill, were often amongst the visitants. A considerable portion of the *Tragedy of Douglas* was composed in the Manse, and it is well known that Dr Carlisle stood warmly in defence of the author when assailed by the Church Courts on account of it. The *Old Statistical Account* of Inveresk, written by the Doctor, contains a spirited censure of the Puritan party on that occasion. It was here, also, that the long-lost copy of Collins' sublime "Ode on the Superstitions of the Highlands" was discovered in its perfected state, amongst the Doctor's papers. At a still earlier period the sermons of the pious and scholastic Williamson were dated from the Manse of Musselburgh.

On the Fisherrow side, and close to the river, stands the villa of Eskside, once the residence of Professor Stuart, father of Gilbert Stuart, who was one of the originators of the first *Edinburgh Review*, and known for his violence and recklessness as a public writer. Close to the garden wall, in front, at the south end of it, is a round two-storied building, so thickly overgrown with ivy as to look like a large bottle encased in green. This was the study of Gilbert, and the resort of not a few of the *literati* of the time. There is little else worth notice, in reference to past times, on the west side of the Esk, save, perhaps, the small public-house in Market-gate, at the end of the old

Bridge, known as the "Thatched House Tavern," where, it is believed, Home and another party were taken prisoners by Charlie's men in 1745. They were volunteers in the Royal cause, and had gone to Musselburgh as scouts to watch the motions of the Highlanders. Neglecting their duty in their conviviality, they were made captive.

ST MICHAEL'S CHURCH.

We have already spoken of the Church of Inveresk as included in the original grant to the Monks of Dunfermline. The present structure was built in 1805. When Dr Carlisle wrote the old fabric still existed. It occupied the same site—supposed to have been the prætorium of the Romans. "St Michael's of Inveresk, the parish Church," says the Doctor, "is of great antiquity, but uncertain date. It is most likely that it was built soon after the introduction of Christianity,* out of the ruins of the Roman fort. The stone it is built of appears to be the same with those discovered in the ruins of the prætorium. There are evidently many old stones, and many Roman bricks in the building. There seems, besides, to have been no good reason for choosing a situation so distant from the towns, which have always been the most populous parts of the parish, had it not been for the convenience of using the old materials. The body of the Church is 102 feet long, and only 24 feet wide within the walls; but there are four aisles, two on each side of the Church, that have been built at different periods, and double rows of galleries in the ends of the Church." These aisles, no doubt, contained the several altars

* Christianity is understood to have been introduced into East Lothian by St Baldred, a disciple of Kentigern, during the sixth century. According to Bede, there was a Saxon monastery at Tyningham, dedicated to St Balther, the diocese of which ultimately extended over East Lothian.

belonging to the Church in Catholic times. Elsewhere we give a sketch of the building as it stood in 1547. At that period it appears to have been cruciform, with only two aisles, consequently the other two must have been added afterwards. In Dr Carlisle's time the whole superstructure was "in a ruinous condition," and as such "truly a disgrace to the parish." The present Church is large enough, but plain in the extreme, with a miniature though beautiful steeple, which throws an air of burlesque over the huge building. The bell, which belonged to the old fabric, bears the following inscription :—Soli. deo. gloria. michael, Bvrgerhvys. me. fecit. Anno Domini 1624. Innervijsk Kirk.

In 1176, after the Church of Musselburgh had been placed under the Bishoprick of St Andrews, we find, from the ancient *Taxatio*, that it contributed 70 merks, being the highest of all the churches in Mid-Lothian. It was in the old Church of St Michael's that the celebrated Wishart performed divine service a short time prior to his martyrdom.

The ministers of this Church, since the Reformation, have been—1. Mr Andrew Blackhall, admitted previous to 1591, died in 1609; 2. Mr Adam Colt; and, 3, his son, Mr Oliver Colt—who, together, filled up the rest of that century till 1679; 4. Mr Arthur Miller, ordained 1680; 5. Mr Richard Howieson, ordained 1690; 6. Mr John Williamson, ordained 1701, died 1739; 7. Mr Frederick Carmichael, admitted 1739, translated to Edinburgh 1747-8; 8. Dr Alexander Carlisle, ordained in 1748, died in 1805; 9. Dr Leslie Moodie, admitted 1606, died in 1840; 10. The present incumbent, Mr J. G. Beveridge, appointed assistant and successor in 1836.

The prætorium, or churchyard, though not more than fifty feet above the level of the sea, commands an extensive and excellent view of the surrounding country. The Romans could well appreciate such a position. "There are, "says Dr Carlisle, "two

mounts, or ramparts, one on the north side, and another on the east end of the churchyard, that are called *Oliver's Mounts*, and are supposed to have been batteries of Cromwell's, one to command the bridge, and the other to defend his magazine, which was in the village of Inveresk." He farther adds, in a foot-note, that "the eastern rampart having been levelled five or six years ago to extend the burying-ground, and a foundation for a monument having been lately dug, as deep as seven feet below the surface of the churchyard, and eleven below the top of the mount, there were found many human bones in full preservation, which seems to furnish proof that the ramparts had been erected since the field was enclosed for a churchyard." Lord Hailes was of opinion that they might have belonged to the Roman period. Dr Moir coincided with Lord Hailes, and chiefly because he fancies the mounds are indicated in Patten's rude diagrams of the field of Pinkie, besides being mentioned by that author in his prolix account of the battle. The passage which he quotes is as follows:—"We cam on spedily a both sydes, neither as thereto ony whit (I dare saye) ware of others entent: but ye Scots indede wt. a rounder pace: *Betwent the ii. hillockes betwixt vs and the church*, thei moustred somwhat brim in our eyes, at whoom, as they stayed thear awhile, our galley shot of, and slewe the master of Greym, with a five-and-twenty nere him." The hillocks thus alluded to are believed by Dr Moir to have been the mounds facing east and north in the churchyard. The diagrams of Patten are so rude and inaccurate that no reliance can be placed upon them in matters of this kind. In fact there is only one hillock indicated, if hillock it is, and that to the east. Patten may have intended to mark the site of the Scots battery, for he knew that they had guns planted there. It was the design of the English, in moving from their encampment at Falside, to occupy the heights at Inveresk, so as to command the Scottish camp. They

intended to plant part of their ordnance in a turf lane, which led northward. "It was not ye least part of our meaning also," adds Patten, "hereby to wyn from them certein of their *ordinaunce that lay nerest this church.*" The English, however, were anticipated, for the Scots gained the church before they were half way to it. Approaching, as the English were, from their camp at Falside, and the Scots posting southwards with the view of gaining the hill, it is impossible that the latter could appear "sumwhat brim" in their eyes, "betwent the ii. hillockes betwixt vs and the church." However erroneously Patten might *place* the hillocks in the diagram, he must have *seen* them from the south-east, consequently they could not be the two mounds in the churchyard. There was not space enough, even, for the Scots army so to muster between the ramparts.

Dr Moir mentions another tradition, that they were *Desse's work*, the French commander, *Desse*, having fortified the hill in 1548, immediately after the battle of Pinkie. On the 10th of January 1548-9, the Privy Council ordered a fort to be built at Inveresk. The town of Edinburgh was directed to furnish 300 workmen, with proper tools, for six days. The same Council ordered, that every plough of eight oxen, between Linlithgow and Haddington, should furnish a man properly provided with entrenching tools, during the same time of six days, and every *potch plough* to furnish two men, under pain of forty shillings.* In the answer to the French memorial, 22d April 1550, the Governor and Council intimated that, to save charges, the fort of Inveresk would be kept by the Abbot of Dunfermline upon caution.†

Musselburgh—defended on the north by the sea, and a strong gate to the east, with the village of Inveresk surrounded by a turf wall, planted with cannon—was the only town in the east of Scotland, except Dunbar, that offered any determined resist-

* Keith's Appendix. † Caledonia.

ance to Cromwell—a fact in itself affording evidence that the mounds were of Desse's or his own times. When the old Church was demolished, a quantity of gunpowder was discovered in one of the vaults, supposed to have been placed there in 1650.

In the engraving of the battle of Pinkie, formerly mentioned, and from which our sketch is taken, the Church, with the Scottish cannon, appears distinctly. The hill was then unenclosed as a burial-place, and there are *no mounds* indicated. It is thus manifest that they were of later construction.

Oliver's cavalry lay at Inveresk for six or eight weeks, while his foot were encamped on the links of Musselburgh. The Church served as a stable for the horses. At the battle of Pinkie, in 1547, the Scots had several guns planted at the Church, and so had Prince Charles Stuart in 1745.

Few notices occur in the Council books respecting the Church. The bailies, it is minuted on the 13th June 1702, were to meet the heritors about a fund for a helper to Mr John Howieson. An assistant was not at this time appointed.* In 1708 (11th Oct.) the north porch of the Church is ordered to be levelled, and the stair made.

"7 Sept. 1713.—The which day the Council being acquainted by the magistrates that the heritors were resolved to stent the parochin for repairing the church, they resolve to do nothing thereanent before they consult their assessor; to see what way such reparations are appoynted by act of Parliament, and recommend to the present magistrates and thesaurer to meett with their assessor therabout als soon as possible, and to report att next meeting."

The repairs executed on the kirk the following year, 1714, cost the town, as their share, 80$^{lib.}$ 8$^{s.}$ Scots.

* "11th May 1730, the Council agreed that Mr Donaloy, the second minister, should have 'ane eik' to his stipends."

LORETTO.

Besides the parish Church, there were several chapels of old in the parish, all, of course, subordinate to it. The chapel of *Cousland* is mentioned in the charter of David I., 1163; and, as we have seen, there was one in the Mid-Raw of Musselburgh (St James's); another had its site in a garden at the west end of Market-gate; a third in the grounds of New Hailes, called Magdalen Chapel, from which the bridge and saltpans take their names. No vestige of it now remains.

One of the most famous of all the chapels in the parish of Inveresk, though unconnected with St Michael's or the Abbey of Dunfermline, was that of "our Lady of Loretto." It was situated at the east end of the town, on the opposite side of Pinkie House, but somewhat nearer the sea. A strange ignorance of the history of this place has all along prevailed. In both the old and new *Statistical Accounts*, it is spoken of as a place of "high antiquity," while the gazetteers, and other topographical publications, repeat the same statement. Following these authorities, Grant, in his recent historical novel of "The Yellow Frigate," is still more absurdly decided in his notions of its antiquity. "It belonged," he says, "to the Abbots of Dunfermline, and had been built in an age anterior to all written record; so now, we know not when it was founded, or by whom. The obscurity in which its early history was enveloped left fancy free, and thus the fane enjoyed a celebrity for holiness second only to the Cottage of the Nativity, like which, it became famous for effecting supernatural cures and conversions on visitors and devotees." The shrine was not in existence "in the days of James III.," the era of Grant's tale; and his description of the chapel itself is altogether fanciful. The fact that it is not mentioned in old charters, or any historical work, save that of Leslie, or the account of the English expedition under the Earl of Hertford in 1544,

when it was either wholly or partially destroyed, might have awakened a suspicion that it could not be of such remote antiquity as supposed. Keith says, but erroneously, that it was connected with the *Nunnery of Sciennes*,* near Edinburgh, which was built so late as 1517.

Loretto was equally celebrated as the sanctuary of the Virgin, of whom it had an image, and the residence of a holy man, a hermit, who, it would appear from a charter of James V., in 1534, was the actual founder:—"Carta con. et mort. per Ballivos de Mussilburgh, de Thomæ Duthy, Heremite ordinis Sti. Pauli, primi Heremite de Monte Sinay, et suis successoribus, de una petra terræ territorij de Mussilburgh, pro edificatione unius capellæ, in honorem Dei omni potentus et Beatæ Mariæ de Laureto. Edr James V. 29 Julij 1534." Thus we learn that the hermit was called Thomas Duthy, or Duchtie, as he is styled elsewhere, of the order of St Paul, first hermit of Mount Sinai, and that he had a grant from the Bailies of a *petra*,† or stony piece of land, in the territory of Musselburgh, for the erection of a chapel in honour of God and the Virgin Mary of Loretto. There can thus be no doubt that Thomas Duthy, who had brought an image of the Virgin from Loretto, in Italy, was the founder of the chapel. The circumstance, in fact, is recorded in the "Diurnal of Remarkable Occurrents":—"In this meine tyme (1533) thair come ane heremeit, callit Thomas Douchtie, in Scotland, quha haid bein lang capitane befoir the Turk, as was allegit, and brocht ane ymage of our Lady with him, and foundit the chappel of Laureit, besyid Musselburgh." The chapel was

* See Maidment's Account of this Nunnery, printed for the Abbotsford Club in 1841.

† It would seem that at that time the site of the chapel, now one of the finest and richest in Musselburgh, was a piece of waste, stony land, washed probably by the sea, though the links now lie between it and the Frith.

thus probably founded in 1533, and confirmed by the charter already quoted in 1534.

That Thomas was not only a Scotsman, but a native of Musselburgh, seems highly probable. Amongst the town's papers there is a precept for infefting George Preston in "ane croft of land called Halleswalls, lying on the south side of the village of Newbigging, within the liberties of the town of Musselburgh, betwixt the lands some time of *Thomas Dughtie*, on the south of the arable lands of Inveresk on the west," &c. This precept is dated 6th January 1523, ten years prior to the hermit's arrival with the image. The individual here mentioned was probably himself or his father. If himself, he may have passed the intervening ten years in fighting against the Turks. The supposition of his being a native of the place accounts for his choice of a site, and apparent facility in procuring ground from the magistrates.

Old writers styled the chapel St Allarit, or Lariet, but this must have been a corruption, a poetical license used by Sir David Lyndsay of the Mount, the Earl of Glencairn, and others. The midsummer fair of Musselburgh was called *St Lauretto's* fair, the prototype of the chapel being that of Loretto in Italy. It was probably indebted for much of its rapid popularity to James V., who, according to Bishop Leslie, made a pilgrimage to it on foot from Stirling Castle, in 1536.* He had been driven back in the voyage to France, and thus besought the aid of the Virgin in his connubial expedition. Be this as it may, the chapel enjoyed a high degree of reputation, notwithstanding the progress of the Reformation. Its presiding genius, *Thomas the Hermit*, occupied a cell in connection with the chapel, and continued to grant par-

* It is curious that in all the accounts of Loretto we have seen the date of this pilgrimage is wrong. In the *New Statistical Account* it is 1530; in Laing's edition of *Row's History of the Reformation*, it is 1534, but the real date, in Leslie, is 1536.

dons and indulgences for many years, while his power to work miracles was not disputed. According to Lyndsay—

"——— that Hermeit of Laureit,
He put the common pepill in belief
That blynd get sicht, and cruikit gat their feit."

The Virgin, at the same time, was supposed to exercise a most benevolent sway over the destinies of "the sisterhood," and both at marriages and births her influence was zealously solicited through the medium of the avaricious priests who attended on the shrine. Frequent pilgrimages, in imitation of James V., were made to the Hermitage by the better class of both sexes, and it latterly became notorious for its impurity. Sir David Lyndsay of the Mount did not fail to satirize such gatherings:—

"I have sene pass ane marvellous multitude,
Young men and women flingand on thair feit,
Under the forme of feinzeit sanctitude,
For till adore ane image in Laureit;
Mony came with thair marrowis for to meit," &c.

The celebrity of the Hermit and his sanctity became still more enhanced by the epistle of the Earl of Glencairn, one of the best "pasquinals" of the time, and which has been preserved by Knox in his "History of the Reformation."

"*Ane Epistill direct fra the halie Hermeit of Alareit, to his Brethren the Gray Freirs.*

"I Thomas Hermeit in Lareit,
Sanct Francis ordour do hairtilie greit,
Beseikand you with gud intent,
To be wakryif and diligent.
Thir Lutheranis rissen of new,
Our ordoure dailie dois persew.
They smaikis dois set thair haill intent,
To reid the Inglische New Testament,
And sayis we have them clein decevit;
Thairfore in haist they mon be stoppit.

Our stait hypocrisie thay prysse,
And us blasphemis one this wyse,
Seyand, that we ar heretyckis,
And false loud lying mastis tykes,
Cumerars and quellars of Christis Kirk,
Sweir swongeors that will not wirk,
Bot idillie our leving wynis,
Devoiring woilfis into scheipis skynis,
Huirkland with huidis into our neck,
With Judas mynd to jouk and beck,
Seikand Christis pepill to devoir,
The doun thringers of Chistis gloir,
Professors of hypocrisie,
And Doctours in Idolatrie,
Stout fischeiris with the Feindis net,
The upclossers of Hevin's yet,
Cankeart corruptors of the creid,
Humlock sawers among gud seid,
To trow in trators, that do men tyist
The hie way kennand thame fra Christ,
Monsters with the Beistis mark,
Doges that nevir stintis to bark,
Kirkmen that ar to Christ unkend,
A sect that Satains self hes send,
Lourkand in hoils, lyik trator toddis,
Manteiners of idollis and fals goddis,
Fantastik fuillis and fenzeit fleicheors,
To turne fra treuth the verray teichers,
For to declair thair haill sentence,
Wald mekill cumber your conscience;
To say your Fayth it is sa stark,
Your cord and lousie cote and sark,
Ye lippin may bring you to salvatioun,
And quyte excludis Christis passioun.
I dreid this doctrine, and it last,
Sall outher gar us wirk or fast;
Thairfoir with speid we mene provyde,
And not our profite overslyde.

I schaip myself, within short quhill,
To curs our Ladie in Argylle ;
And thair one craftie wayis to wirk,
Till that we biggit have ane kirk,
Syne miracles mak be your advyce ;
They ketterells thocht thai had bot lyce,
The twa parte to us they will bring,
Bot ordourlie to dress this thing :
A gaist I purpois to gar gang,
Be consaill of Frier Walter Lang,
Quhilk sall mak certane demonstratiounis,
To help us in our procuratiounis,
Your halie ordour to decoir :
That practick he provit anis befoir,
Betwix Kirkaldie and Kinghorne,
Bot lymmaris maid therat sick scorne,
And to his fame maid sick degressioun,
Sinsyne he hard nott the King's confessioun,
Thoicht at that tyme he come no speid :
I pray yow tak gude will as deid ;
And sum amongest your self ressave,
As ane worth many of the lave.
Quhat I obtein may, throw his airt,
Ressone wald ye had your parte.
Your ordour handillis no money,
Bot for uther casualitie,
As beif, meill, butter, and cheiss,
Or quhat we have, that ye pleis,
Send your brethren, *et habete*,
As now nocht ellis, bot valete,
Be Thomas your brother at comand,
A culrun kythit throw mony a land.

But the most damaging of all the circumstances that betell the chapel of Loretto was the exposure of a pretended miracle wrought there in 1558 or 1559. The story is told very graphically in a MS. written about 1670, by way of addition to "the Coronis"

of Row's "History of the Kirk of Scotland."* The exposure is usually attributed to "Squire Meldrum"—a character celebrated by Lyndsay—but from certain marginal explanations of the MS. in question, this appears to be incorrect. The hero of the story must have been Robert Colville of Cleish. He was master of the household to Lord James Stuart, afterwards the Regent Murray, and was a zealous promoter of the Reformation. He was slain at the siege of Leith, 7th May 1560, and Knox describes him as "a man stout, modest, and wise." His great grandson was raised to the Peerage in 1651, by the title of Lord Colville of Ochiltree, and not a few of his descendants repose in the churchyard of St Michael's of Musselburgh.† The story runs thus :—

Mr John Row, the father of the historian, was brought up a Catholic, and passing to Italy, became somewhat famous at Rome. He was made agent for the Kirk of Scotland in 1556. He also graduated as Doctor of Laws at Padua. Getting into bad health, he was advised to return to Scotland, commissioned as the Pope's Legate, to oppose the Reformation. He arrived at Eyemouth on the 29th September 1558.

"After his arryvall," says the MS., "he did what he could to oppose the Reformation, both by disputations with Mr Knox and others the Reformers, and otherwayes, being armed with the Pope's power and authoritie. But he proved corbie messenger (as it is in the proverb) to his master the Pope; for he himselfe, ere it wes long, wes converted to the trueth; and quyting his master the Pope and Poperie, became one of the Reformers; whilk the Lord brought about verie wonderfullie.

"In these tymes there wes besyde Mussilburgh St Allarit's chapell, and in these tymes of ignorance and superstition, it was

* Wodrow Society's edition.

† William Meldrum of Cleish and Binns, in Kinross-shire, the *Squire Meldrum* of Lyndsay, sold the property of Cleish about 1530, to Sir James Colville of Easter Weems, who, in 1587, made a grant of the lands to his natural son, Robert Colville. Meldrum died about 1542.

belived that if women that were in hard labour did send ane offering to the Priest and Freirs there, they wold get easie delyverance: Ther wes in Fyfe, Esquyre Meldrum, so he wes commonlie called, [Robert Colvill, Laird of Cleishe, who thereafter wes killed at the seige of Leithe], a gentleman of good understanding and knowledge, sound in the Reformed religion, and most zealous and stoute for the Reformation; but his ladie (commonlie called the Ladie Cleishe) wes a papist, [Cachune of the family of Luss]; therefor shee, being in hard labour in chyld birth, posted away her servant (who wes also a papist) to St Allarite's chapell, with ane offering of gold to the Ladie and saintes of Allarite, with her sarke, (according to the custome) that shee might get easie delyverie. Her husband, the Esquyre, [Laird of Cleishe,] so soone as he learned the matter, posted after the servant to hinder such a superstitious offering, but did not overtake him till he came to St Allarite's chappell, where he found the whole adjacent countrey of Mers, Tweedale, East, Middle, and West Lothians, conveened to see ane miracle wrought at St Allerites chapel: for the Papists, perceiving the Reformation to goe on quicklie, and fearing that their religion should be abandoned, the kirkmen, the archbishops, Bishops, Preists, Freires, &c., consulted and advysed, and after deliberation resolved, that the best wayes to maintaine and uphold their Religion, wes to worke some miracle to confirme the people, (as they thought) that Poperie wes the true religion; and, therefore, they caused proclame in Edinburgh that on such a day there wes a great miracle to be wrought at St Allerite's chapell, for a man that wes borne blind, and had begged all his dayes, being a blind man, wes to be cured and receive his sight: therefore they willed all the people to come and see the miracle wrought, &c. And so, upon the appointed day, (upon the verie quhilk day, at the tyme of the working of the lying wonder, the Esquyre, [Laird of Cleishe] came to the chapell to hinder the superstitious offering intended by his ladie (and the servant shee sent), and after some ceremonies performed, the blind man was cured and recovered his sight. The man upon whom the miracle was wrought, coming doune from the scaffold, rejoyced much among the people, and blessed God, Christ, St Marie, St Allarite, and all the saints, Preists, and Freirs that had

cured him and given him his sight. And then the people began to give him money.

"Esquyre Meldrum [Robert Colvill] seeing and hearing all his deceitfull worke, laboured to doe his best to find out the lurking deceit whereby the people were miserablie deceived: wherefor he did cast himselfe to meet with the man, intending to goe to Edinburgh, who asked money of him as he had done from others, to whom the Esquyre [Robert Colvill] sayes, (giving him money more largelie than others,) "you are a verie remarkable man on whom such a miracle has been wrought, I will have you to goe with me to be my servant," &c. The man, glad of such ane offer, and receiving money largelie, wes willing to goe with him; and so the Esquyre caused him to ryde behind his servant to the toune of Edinburgh. So soone as he came to his lodging house, and to the chamber where he wes to lye, putting his servant to the doore, and closing the chamber doore upone himselfe and the man, he looks to the man with a fierce countenance, and drawing his sword, and laying the naked sword upon the table, sayes to him: "Thou villane and deceiver of the people of God, either tell me the treuth of these things that I am to aske of you now presentlie, or els I will take upon me, with my sword, presentlie, to cutt off thy head: for I am ane magistrate appointed by God to doe justice; and I am assured that all the preists and freirs, all the saints, nor the Pope himselfe, cannot work a miracle such as they pretend to doe, viz., to cure a blind man: Therefor thou and they are but deceivers of the people; and either tell me the veritie, or els with this sword (taking his naked sword in his hand) I will presentlie (as ane magistrate in this case) put ye to death." The poore man, trembling and astonished, sayes, "O deare Sir, spare my life, and I sall tell you all the trueth and veritie, and let their knaverie be knowen." "Well, (said the Esquyre,) then answer me this question, and doe not lie as you love your life:—1. Wes thou a born-blind man?' Answer, "No, Sir." 2. Q. "How cometh it then that yee have been thought to be a blind man, being led as if yee had been blind?" Ans. "Sir, I sall tell you all the treuth. When I wes a young lad I wes a herd, and keeped the sisters of the Sheines's* sheep, (in these dayes there wes a Nunrie in

* The convent was dedicated to St Catherine of Sienna.

the Sheines besyde Edinburgh,) and in my wantonness and pastime I used often to ilype up the lids of my eyes, so that any bodie wold have trewed that I wes blind. I using often to play this pavie, the nunnes, the sisters of the Sheines (so they were commonlie called) did sometymes see me doe it and laugh at me. Then the sisters send in word to Edinburgh that their sheppeard lad could play such a pavie. The kirkmen in Edinburgh hearing of such a thing, came out to the Sheines, and desired to see that sheppeard lad. I being brought, and playing this pavie befor them, walking up and doune with my eyelids up, and the whyte of my eyes turned up as if I had been blind. The kirkmen that conveened there to see me, advised the sisters, the Nunnes of the Sheines, to get another lad to keep their sheep, and to keep me hid in one of their volts or cellars for some years, ay till they thought meet to bring me out, and to make use of me as they pleased: (this the knave kirkmen did in their wicked policie and foirsight, that the memorie of such a boy might perish, and that notwithstanding he might be to the foir to be brought out to deceive the people of God when they thought fitt), and so, Sir, I wes keeped and fed in one of the volts (no bodie knowing that I wes there but the kirkmen and the nunnes of the Sheines) for the space of seven or eight years. Then, Sir, they conveened me againe, and brought me befor them, and caused me sweare a great oath that I sould faine my selfe to be a blind man, and they put one to lead me through the countrey that I might beg as a blind man in the day tyme; but in the night, and also when I pleased, I put doune my eyelids and saw well enough, and I to this houre never revealed this to any; yea, my leader knew not but I wes blind indeed." And thus after his discourse he played his pavie befor the Esquyre, walking up and doune the chamber as if he had been blind. The Esquyre glad, (for he easilie believed that he had told the trueth,) keepit him by him that night in his chamber; and upon the morne sayes to him, "Now, seeing you have glorified God in revealing the knaverie of these villanes and deceivers, the kirkmen and nunnes, yee must doe something more yet, to let all the people know how these knaves has deceived them, and entysed you, for world's geer, (for they gave him monie liberallie,) to deceive the people of God." Ans. "Sir, since I have revealed the secret to you, and have taken me to you

as my master, I will doe any thing you will bid me doe." "Well, (said the Esquyre,) this you must doe, and I sall stand by you with my sword in my hand, that no man nor woman wrong you. Goe with me to the Crosse, and in few words (whilk the Esquyre taught him) tell the people, after you have cryed Oyesse thrise) how yee have been hyred and entysed to faine your selfe to be a blinde man, and that yee wes never blind, and that there wes no miracle indeed wrought upon you yesterday; and therefor, desire the people to be no longer deceived by thir kirkmen, these knaves and blind judges that misleads the people, but bid the people take them to the true religion, &c. And after yee have thus spoken, I and yee sall quicklie muve doun the close besouth the Crosse, where my servant sall be waiting with my two horses in the Cowgate; and if I were once betwixt the shoulders of my horse, and yee upon the other, I sall defy all the kirkmen in Edinburgh to overhye me till I be in Fyfe, where the lords of the Congregation are in arms for the defence of the true Reformed religion." The man undertaking to doe as he desired, they went to the Crosse together about eight a clock in the foirnoone. When after the man had cried Oyesse thrise, the people who the day befor had seen him at St Allarites chapell on the scaffold, &c., running to heare what he had to say, heard him utter the words the Esquyre had taught him. Then quicklie the Esquyre and he horsed, and were gone towards the Queens-ferrie. The report of this running through the toune came quicklie to the preists, freirs, and the rest of that deceiving rabble, who raged, foamed, &c.: but what could they doe? the man wes gone—they could not persewe—they durst not goe further than the Queenes-ferrie.

"But to return to Mr John Row. The Esquyre coming home with the man, the Lord in his good providence so ordered that Mr John Row came to Cleishe to visite the Ladie, she being a papiste; and after he had stayed there a night, the Esquyre kindly intertaining him, they fell in conference about some points of religion. The Esquyre sayes to him, "Mr John Row, ye are a great scholer and lawyer; yee have been bred at the Court of Rome, where there is both learning and policie enough. I am but a countrey gentleman, unlearned, hes not had breeding abroad; therefor I will not enter the lists for a dispute with you; I know I will be foyled, and whilk is worse, I will wrong my

religion that way. But let me only conferre and cracke about some points of religion wherein yee and me differ." "Well," (said Mr John Row) I am glad and well content to doe so; we may do other good that way; I may teach you something yee know not, and it may be yee may teach me some thing I knew not befor." And so, after some conference, the Esquyre sayes, "Doe yee mantaine that the Pope, your master, and his clergie, can in thir dayes work any true and reall miracle?" Ans. "Yes: There is no doubt of that: It is certaine that the Pope or his clergie have wrought miracles for the confirmation of the trueth of our religion." "Well, (sayes the Esquyre,) Have yee heard of yon miracle wrought latelie at St Allarites Chapell?" Ans. "O yes. What can you say to it? What can any man say against that—a man borne blind is cured, and hes received his sight?" Q. "But how know yee that he was a borne-blind man?" Ans. "Hes he not begged through Edinburgh, Dalkeith, Leith, Musselbrugh, &c. all his dayes, being a blind man?" The Esquyre replyes, "I am sorie, Mr John, that honest men, such as I take you to be, is so pitifullie deceived by false knaves, deceivers of the soules of the people of God." And so that he might convince him of their knaverie and undeceive him, he told him that he had the verie man on whom the miracle was thought to be wrought in his house; and calling upon the man, brought him befor Mr John Row, and caused him reveale the whole matter, and play his pavie befor him; whilk when Mr John Row had heard and seen, he was amased and nonplussed, and could say nothing to defend his master or the deceiving kirkmen that had contryved the business. "Now, (sayes the Esquyre,) Mr John Row, yee are a great clergie man, a great linguist and lawyer. But I charge you, as yee must answer to the great God at the last day, that yee doe not now hold out any light that God* offers you, but that yee will so soone as ye come to your studie close the doore upon you, and take your Byble, and earnestly pray to God that yee may understand the scriptures and the treuth of God revealed in them, that in his light yee may see light, and then when yee have prayed, as the Lord by his Spirit, who is the spirit of grace and supplicatioun, will instruct and teach you, take your Byble, and read 2 Thess. ii., and if yee doe not there see

* Such is the word in *Row's History*, but it looks like a misprint.

your master the Pope to be the great antichrist who comes with lying wonders to deceive the people of God, (as now he and his deceiving and tricking clergie in Scotland hes done latelie at Musselburgh,) ye sall say, Esquyre Meldrum [Robert Colvill] has no skill."

The Chapel of Loretto, as already stated, was destroyed, together with part of Musselburgh, by the English under the Earl of Hertford in 1544. It was soon repaired, however, and continued to be a place of resort till the Reformation, which was accomplished in 1560, a year, or at most two, after the Laird of Cleish's exposure of the pretended miracle. The last chaplain was Mr Gavin Walker, who also exercised the calling of a notary. There is a charter of confirmation by James VI., (10th Dec. 1569) "in favours of the Magistrates of Musselburgh, of a charter by Mr Gavin Walker, chapline of the chaplainerie of Loretto, with the yeard and pertinents thereof."* The ground thus reverted to the town, by the bailies of which it had been originally gifted to the hermit.

In 1590, it appears the chapel was demolished, and the materials applied to building the tolbooth of Musselburgh.† Judging from the ground on which it stood, it was probably of considerable dimensions; and it is allowed to have been of rather imposing architecture. "The old steps of the stair," says Dr Carlisle, "which was repaired not long since, were the bases of the pillars of this chapel, according to the report of masons still living (1793). This is said to have been the first religious house in Scotland whose ruins were applied to an unhallowed use, for which the good people of Musselburgh are said to have been annually excommunicated, till very lately, at Rome."

Of the chapel "no vestige now remains," says Dr Moir, "save

* Burgh Charters.

† We have not seen any authority for this beyond the statement of Dr Carlisle, but have every reason to believe it correct.

a cell measuring twelve feet by ten, covered by a circular wooded mount. In the roof is inserted a strong iron bar, with an oaken pulley attached, but for what purpose seems doubtful." The iron bar and oaken pulley, if they ever existed, are now removed. In 1831, "part of the earthen floor was dug up, when a number of human skulls were discovered, some of which were in complete preservation. Over the entrance is an antique carved stone, but from the date on it, 1634, it must have been placed there at a period subsequent to the destruction of the 'chapelle of Lauret.'" A gold chain found in the cell, we have been told, was preserved for some time in Loretto villa; but it was carried away, not long ago, by some avaricious person who probably did not know the peculiar value attached to it. Dr Moir is in error as to the figures on the stone. The date is 1647—not 1634—but this does not improve the antiquarian difficulty. The stone is in every respect a genuine remain, but not, we opine, of the chapel of Loretto. It has evidently surmounted some doorway or window in another building. Above the date there is a coronet, and an initial letter M., with which V. and L. seem to be intertwined. If V. M. L., the letters might stand for the *Virgin Mary of Loretto*. But the chapel, as we have seen, was gifted to the Bailies of Musselburgh in 1560, and we have no reason to doubt that it was destroyed in 1590—so that the stone could form no part of the building in 1647. It is more likely that the ornamental letters were meant simply for M. L., what appears to be a V. forming part of the M. If this supposition is correct, then the letters might signify *Maitland of Lauderdale*, which seems countenanced by the coronet. Maitland of Thirlstane had a gift of the lordship, church, chapels, and lands of Musselburgh in 1587; but his right was long disputed by the Queen, and it is possible that the date upon the stone may record the time when the Earl was put in undisputed possession of the lordship,

and removed to Loretto, from its original position, after the family ceased to be overlords of Musselburgh. We cannot otherwise account for such a relic.

The commodious villa now occupying the site of the chapel appears to have been built during the latter half of the last century, and is surrounded by delightful gardens and shrubberies. The ground forming part of Loretto was feued to David Robertson, Esq., 27th September 1766.

MODERN PLACES OF WORSHIP.

The *quoad sacra* church of North Esk, situated in Bridge Street, Fisherrow, was built from a plan by William Burn, Esq., and opened in 1838. It is a very fine building, and cost £2500.

There are other four places of worship in the parish. The Episcopal chapel has existed since the Revolution. It was probably called *the meeting-house* in former times. It is mentioned in a minute of the Town Council (17th April 1704) that the magistrates had been cited before the Privy Council, "anent the meeting-house," and it was agreed to take Sheriff Calderwood's advice on the subject. The cause of the summons does not transpire, but it possibly referred to the lawfulness of tolerating such a dissenting place of worship. A Burgher seceding meeting-house was built about 1768, and a Church of Relief in 1783. These now form part of the U. P. Church. Since the Disruption, a commodious Free Church has been erected in Musselburgh.

HISTORICAL MEMORIALS.

Situated on the great eastern highway between the two countries, Musselburgh must have witnessed many imposing historical scenes—cavalcades of courtly or of warlike display—while its own immediate vicinity has been the field of more than one memorable event. In 1201 the barons of Scotland assembled at "Muschellburg" to swear fealty to the infant son of William the Lion, afterwards Alexander II. In 1544 the chapel of Loretto and part of the town were destroyed by the English expedition under the Earl of Hertford. Hertford was aided by the counsel and assistance of Patrick, Earl of Bothwell, who was Sheriff of Edinburgh and Haddington. At Pinkie Cleugh, in 1547, was fought the ill-concerted battle of Pinkie. On this occasion, also, Bothwell paid court to the enemy of his country. The disaster of Pinkie might have proved fatal to a nation so divided as Scotland, but England was not altogether free of cabals, and Somerset could not venture upon pursuing his victory. Next year, five months afterwards, Lord Grey, who had commanded the cavalry at Pinkie, entered Scotland at the head of a large force, and ravaging the Merse and Lothian, razed the towns of Dalkeith and Musselburgh. Tytler states that on this occasion the archives and charters of the latter burgh were taken away and destroyed. The charter of 1562, formerly quoted, attributes this spoliation to the English "*after* the fatal battle of Pinkie," which is so far corroborative of the fact, and no mention is made by Patten of any damage done to the town on the retreat of Somerset. Four months after Lord Grey's occupation of the Lothians, the Scots were aided by 6000 French troops, under D'Essé, including 3000 Germans, and a body of Italians. D'Essé at once marched to Musselburgh, with the view of offering battle to the English on the field of Pinkie, but Lord Grey deemed it prudent to retire to

Haddington. Meanwhile, D'Essé employed his troops in throwing up some works at Inveresk, where a fort had been erected in the month of January previous. In 1567 (15th June) Carberry Hill, adjoining Falside Brae, witnessed the surrender of Mary Queen of Scots to the associated Lords. On the Links of Musselburgh, in 1638, the Marquis of Hamilton, as the representative of Charles I., was met by thousands of the Covenanters, whose power he had come to destroy, and establish Episcopacy. In 1650 the troops of Oliver Cromwell were encamped on the Links, where they remained nearly two months. The site of Oliver's own tent is still pointed out opposite Linkfield House.

But other scenes of a more gala character—the courtly pageantry of Kings and Princes—must have often excited the enthusiasm of the loyal burghers of Musselburgh. What share they had, or what interest they took in these national occasions of joy, history fails to inform us. Unfortunately the records of the town are of too modern a date to throw any light on occurrences prior to the beginning of the seventeenth century. From the burgh charter of 1562 we learn that the title-deeds of the town were burned by the English after the battle of Pinkie in 1547. It is probable that all the other public documents were destroyed at the same time. It is supposed, also, that they suffered from the troops of Cromwell, as the regular Town Council books do not begin till 1679. A search among some loose and miscellaneous sheets, forming portions of the Bailie Court Book and Record of Sasines, beginning about 1653, with a single sheet or two dated 1605, discovered a pretty entire folio volume, unbound, but stitched together, going back to 1635. It is a mixed record of the Bailie Court and Town Council proceedings, with the income of the town, the roupings of the customs, and shipping. It is thus likely that the burgh books had been allowed to go to waste more through the carelessness of

those entrusted with them than the unsettled nature of the times. From these scanty records we shall quote such entries as may have a bearing on history, or are curious as illustrative of the social condition of Musselburgh in former times. The earlier of these carries us back to the civil wars during the reign of Charles I., when oppressive demands for men and means were made upon every community by the Estates:—

"xix Junii 1646.—The baillies and most pairt of the Counsell being convenet, condescend all in ane voce, that thair sall be ane collectioun gatherit throw the haill inhabitants within the burgh and libertie thairof, be such as they sall appoynt, and that for payment of the haill expenss and deburssmentis wairet out and bestowit vpone be thame for the outputting of the sojoures in thair bands to Captain Eistein, in the regiment of the Mr of Yester, and for the payment of the haill armes bocht for ther outreitching, according to the ordour of the Committee of Estaits."

"xx Julii 1646.—The quhilk day the baillies and maist pairt of the Counsell convenet, does statut and ordane that all extraneans that are nether burges bairnes nor hes mareit burges dochteris, sall not be admitted burges and freemen of this burgh unless they give ane misket, bandleires, and ane sword, or else twenty merks tharfor, by and attour the soume of money to be imposit vpone thame, to the baillies and Counsell for thair fredome and burgeship."

The loose book above referred to, and from which these extracts are given, is continued throughout the whole of the Cromwellian period. In 1652 (24th April) there was a grant by the Commissioners of Parliament of the Commonwealth of England for ordering affairs in Scotland, in favour of the burgh of Musselburgh, restoring them to the privileges of electing magistrates, and managing the Police of the burgh. This was followed by another grant from the Commissioners (17th April 1656) nominating certain persons to act as Justices of the Peace. At the commencement of the book devoted to the Royal Com-

pany of Archers, as a record of the shooting for the silver arrow, there is preserved the proceedings of the Justice of Peace Court, instituted by the Protectorate, from 1656 to 1661, when the Court was dissolved. The first entry refers to the constitution of the Court:—

"1 May 1656.—At the Court of his Heighnes the Lord Protector's peace for the burgh of Mussilburgh, befor the Right honoured Henrie Whally and Timothie Wilkes, Esquires, Johne Calderwood, Robert Ramage, James Brown, Robert Strahane, and Thomas Smith, Justices of Peace for the said burgh and pairtes and pendicles thairof, by vertew of a commission granted in that behalf, by his Heighnes Councell in Scotland, daited 17 Apryle 1656, and instructions of the said Councell for the Justices of Peace in Scotland, beirand dait, 12 Dec. 1655."

At the same time "Mr Johne Preston, nominated in the said commission, was also sworne befoir the Justices of Peace," and "the said Henry Whailly" elected President of the Court. George Vallange, town-clerk, was nominated "clerk to the Peace, and to collect the fynes and unlawes."

The cases brought before the Court refer chiefly to Sabbath-breaking, scandalous expressions, family feuds, personal injury, and drunkenness. It was a time of extreme Puritanism—an approach to which has been attempted by the Agnews and Mackenzies of our own day. To get drunk was then punishable by law, and to drink, even in one's own house, on a Sunday, was a crime. A few extracts will help to illustrate what we say:—

"29 May 1656.—Bessie Fouler, widow in Fisherrow, actes hirself not to sell aill, beir, or strong waters,* to any persones

* It is curious that we never find any word approaching to *whisky* in the writings of the seventeenth, or early half even of the last century. Burns says—

"Sages their solemn e'en may steek,
An' raise a philosophic reek,

whatsumnever on the Sabbath-day, efter the last bell be rung out, under the paine of ten pounds Scotes, *toties quoties*."

"William Cockburn, cordiner in Fisherrow, actes himself not to abuse nor molest any of the coustables, in the execution of thair offices, neither to imper and hinder the inhabitants within the burgh of Musselburgh and pairtes and pendicles thairof to buy fishes at the harberie in tyme comeing, under the paine of ten pund Scots for ilk failzie."

Cockburn seems to have been a common pest.

"19 Feb. 1657.—[Court holden be Mr Johne Prestoun, James Broun, Johne Makwraith, and Thomas Smith—Mr Johne Prestoun, President.] Compeired this day Johne Vaitche, and George Barnet, induellares in the toun of Fisherraw, and in respect the said George hes beine wardet within the towbeith of Musselburgh certane dayes, as the away taker of, at leist as haveing in his custodie, thretteine peices of greene lether, which wes stollen from Patrick Cuthbertsone, tanner in the Cannongait, and the said George Barnet being assoylied this day befor the Justice of Peace befoir written, in respect it was proven be famous witnesses that he boght the saids thretteine peices of lether in Fisherrow toun from two Inglish souldieres, called Henrey Greene and John

An' physically causes seek
In clime and season;
But tell me *whisky's name in Greek*,
I'll tell the reason."

It does not seem to have been known by that name even in Scotland: nor is distillation mentioned in any of our public documents till the reign of James V. It is no doubt derived from the Gaelic *usquebaugh*, the water of life. Cleland, in his *Scots Hudibras*—"The Highland Host" (1678), has the following lines:—

"With dirk and snap-work, and snuff-mill,
A bag which they with onions fill,
And, as their strict observers say,
A taste-horn filled with *usquebay*.

Douglas,* wha ar now fled away from thair cullouris, nevertheless becaus the buissienes is somewhat scandalous, thairfor the said Johne Vaitch becomes heirby baill and surtie for the said George Barnet his guid behavior, and that he sall keip the peace towards his Heighnes, and all the people of the natioun, and sall not heirefter buy or recept any unlawfull goods, nor haunt or keip companie with any suspected persones, sua lang as he dwelles in Fisherraw, under the paine of ane hunder punds Scotts, and the said George Barnet obleisses him and his estait to releive the said Johne Vaitche of his cautionarie abovewritten, as also the said George becomes baill and surtie for Edward Barnet, his brother, his gud cariage and behaviour in tyme comeing, and that he sall betak himself to some lawfull trale and calling."

The "cutty stool"† was not without its occupants in Musselburgh as well as other parishes:—

"20 May 1657.—Adjudges Johne Donaldsone, salter in the Westpanes, for his breache of the Sabbath day, in swa far as, efter he had comed from the *repentance stoole*, in the forenoon tyde, for fornicatioun committed be him with Agnes Maudie, as was confest, he went in the efternoon tyde, in tyme of divine service, and swimmed in the sea, to the offence of God, and was thairfore ordained to pay xxxvi^{s}."

It would appear that there were in these days what were called "makeres of pennie brydelles"—persons who made a profit by promoting such celebrations, and no doubt they were carried to great excess:—

"18 Jan. 1658.—[Court halden be James Broun, Johne Smart, and be Robert Strahane, elected President.] It is ordered

* From these and similar records in various parts of the country, it would appear that there were many Scotsmen in the Protector's army.

† Dr Carlisle says, in a spirit of commendable liberality—"For twenty-five years past (about 1768) the *Stool of Repentance*, that relic of Popery, has been discontinued in this parish, and one strong temptation to the crime of child-murder, which formerly prevailed so much, has been withdrawn."

be the Court for putting in execution the Act anent such persones, the makeres of pennie brydelles, wha have exacted any mor nor tuchf shillinges frome the man and ten shillinges frome the woman, since Michelmes last bypast, or that sall do the lyke in tyme comeing: that every such persone sall be unlawed and fyned in a penaltie of ten punds Scottes, *toties quoties*, but favor: And the Court does heirby impower James Wickershaw, constable, to uplift and resave the said penalties bygane, and to come and to mak compt and payment thairof to the appoynted collector of the said burgh, and for that effect to poynd or waird the contravenores whill payment be maid, without respect of persones."

Horse-stealing is hardly called by its right name in the following case:—

"26 Dec. 1658.—Adjudges Johne Steward, in Fisherraw, for his scandalous cariage in bringing away a horse out of Fyfe, quhilk horse was found with him at Fisherraw as a stollen horse, in respect he fled away when he heard that the owner of the horse was come to challeng him as steiller and awaytaker thairof, to pay xxiiij^{li}, and the said Johne actes himself, gif he sall be fund or apprehendit doeing the lyke, or committing ony uther manner of theft or recepting of stollen gudes, in tyme coming, to be banist this bounds."

Peccadilloes of a certain character were visited with much greater severity:—

"5 Apryle 1659.—Adjudges James Colyear, for committing fornication with Agnes Scott, in respect of thair awne confessiones, to pay 9 lib., and ordanes the said Agnes to be convoyed throw Musselburgh and Fisherraw with the hangman as a notoriouse ******, and gif ever she beis fund within the libertie at ony tyme heirefter she sall be scourgit throw both the tounes."

It is rather surprising that a Court instituted under the rule of the Protector should have been allowed to exercise its functions after the Restoration. But such is the fact. The last sederunt of the Musselburgh Justice of Peace Court is dated 26th Decem-

ber 1661.* It concludes thus:—"Memorandum, thir sowmes ar payed to the Kirk Session." These were the "unlawes," or fines.

In subsequent times, the Council complained that the Magistracy of Musselburgh were overlooked in the appointment of Justices of the Peace; but it was not till 3d September 1751 that the eldest bailie was made a Justice of the Peace.

Prior to and during the Protectorate, as we have seen, George Vallange was clerk of Musselburgh. The first minute in the new Council-book—a small 4to—records the election of a new official:—

"2 June 1679.—This day the Counsell has appointed Robert Litster, wryttar in Edinburgh, to be ther clerke till Whitsunday 1680, he having given his oath *de fideli administratione*."†

This was during the heat of those "risings" in the west country which preceded the Revolution. Musselburgh was perhaps but little affected by the covenanting spirit of the western Whigs, and considerably under the influence of the courtly opposition to them —*Lauderdale* being in fact their feudal superior. We accordingly find the magistrates making provision for the safety of the burgh as follows:—

"19 June 1679.—The Counsell, in respect of the present

* The Cromwellian courts were not interfered with for a twelvemonth after the Restoration; and it is generally acknowledged that justice had never been so impartially administered as under the Protectorate.

† The clerk was elected only during the pleasure of the Council:—

"17 May 1697.—The Baillies and Counsell haveing mett this day, and considering that the clerk place is now vacant by the deceas of Robert Litster, ther lat clerk, they unanimously condeshend ther being a new clerk chosen presently, and that whoever shall be admitted to the said office he is to continue only during the Counsell's pleasure, and noe longer; and also he is to pay ane hundreth merks Scots money for the toun's books immediately at his admission, to be disponed upon by the Baillies and Counsell to such pious uses as they think fitting." [The same day, Robert Vernor, writer in Edinburgh, was admitted clerk.]

troubles, occasioned through the riseing of the disaffected partie in armes in the west, condescend that there be a guard keeped nightly within the burgh of Musselburgh and Fisherraw, which guard is to consist of 38 persones for the toune of Musselburgh, and 32 persones for Fisherraw, each night, of the inhabitants of the said burgh and liberties thereof, who are to be advertised nightly to be present and attend the said guard by tuck of drum, under the paine of 40^{s} Scottis each absent persone: Lykas the said Counsell hes appointed Robert Douglas, elder, late baillie, and Robert Douglas, the present thesaurer of the said burgh, John Strachane, Robert Duncan, Robert Wightman, Andrew Kerr, and Thomas Menzies, Counsellores, to be commanders of the samen guard provided within the burgh of Musselburgh, and George and Robert Smarts, Archibald Smith, Robert Craige, and John Broune, counsellors, Patrick Hereot and Richard Scott, indwell-land in Fisherraw, to be commanders of the guard within the bounds of Fisherraw; and ordanes each of the said persones respective above mentioned, who ar appoynted commanders, as said is, to attend the forsaid guards nightly, according to their turns, under the paine of ten marks money above specifeit."

This was the era of Drumclog, fought on the 1st June 1769, of Bothwell Brig, and Aird's Moss.

In olden times, we may fancy how frequently the burgesses were called upon to do honour to the Sovereign, the great men of the Court and State, or the royal officials, as they passed to England or the Borders, on expeditions of war, policy, or pleasure, prior to the Union of the Crowns or of the Parliaments. The following minutes illustrate what we mean:—

"20 Nov. 1679.—The Counsell appoynts such of the inhabitants as sall be advertised to waite upon the baillies for meeting his Royal Highness the Duke of York, to be present under the paine of three pund Scottis ilk persone."

The Duke of York, afterwards James II. of England, resided for some time at Holyrood House, and made himself somewhat agreeable to the people. He opened the Scottish Parliament on

the 28th August 1681, the day before which five recusant ministers were executed in the Grassmarket. When the Chancellor passed or repassed a similar mark of respect was paid :—

"26 Nov. 1694.—The Counsell condescends that the neighboures shall convoy the Chancellor* in his way to London the next week, and allows the baillies to wairne whom they think fitt for that effect, under the pain of 40^{s} ilka persone."

"17 April 1704.—The Counsell condescends to ryde and meet the Chancellour when he comes by from London, under the paine of ten punds ilk absent."

Are we to suppose that the Chancellor had remained in London from 1694 till 1704—a period of ten years!—and yet there is no intermediate minute regarding his lordship's return!

The notices in reference to the Revolution and the reign of William and Mary are not numerous. Of the actual event itself there is not a word. The following year his birth-day is to be observed :—

"4 Nov. 1689.—Appoynts a proclamatione to goe through the liberties for observing K. William's birth-day, by putting on bonefires and observing uther solemnities, and ordaines the bells to ring at the ordinar tyme, under the penaltie of 40^{s} unforgiven."

Before William's accession, the birth-day of the sovereign seems to have been celebrated in the month of May—at all events, some special holiday was then celebrated :—

"24 March 1680.—The Counsell ordaines a proclamatione to be made through the liberties for the due observance of the 29th day of May, and that bonefires be putt on by the respective inhabitants, and condescends that the baillies and haill members of Counsell shall meet togidder the said day, the ordinary tyme and place, for seeing the said solemnities keept, under the paine of 40^{s} ilk baillie, and 20^{s} every counsellor, who shall happen to be absent the forsaid day, without ane lawfull excuse."

"18 June 1688.—The Counsell appoynts a proclamatione to

* John, Marquis of Tweeddale, was the Lord Chancellor at this time.

goe through the liberties for bonfires on Thursday next for the Prince's birth day, under the penaltie of 5 lib. ilke persone failzieing."

This must have been the son born to James II. on the 10th June 1688, a few months prior to his abdication of the throne. He was the *Pretender* of "Mar's Year," and the father of Prince Charles Edward, the hero of '45.

The advent of King William, whose policy involved him in protracted continental wars, occasioned considerable demands on the resources of this country. His urgency for troops led to the disgraceful massacre of Glencoe, that he might be enabled to withdraw certain regiments from Scotland. The following minute illustrates the mode of recruiting resorted to for the navy, and the amount of encouragement offered:—

"3 Feb. 1690.—The Counsell appoynts a proclamatione to goe through the burgh and liberties anent seamen, who will take on and list themselves in ther Majesties' service, and to make offer to them of pay and advance money in the termes of the Privie Counsell's order and proclamatione thereanent, which is 40ˢ sterling of advance money, and 6ˢ Scottes per diem."

The next prominent event in Scottish history is the rebellion of 1715, or "Mar's Year," as it is popularly styled. The measures of protection resorted to by the authorities of Musselburgh on that occasion are fully recorded in the minutes:—

"9 Aug. 1715.—The which day the Baillie having produced ane letter from the Shirreff deputes, directed to him by order of the Marquis of Lothian, requiring his attendance against the eleventh instant, in the Inner Session House att Edr., in order to concert with the other gentlemen of the shyre upon methods for the common saftie, and for averting the sad effects with which the nation is threatened; which letter being produced to the Councill, they empower Baillie Ainslie to go and meett and treat with the gentlemen forsaid, and to report the result of the meeting to the Councill."

"13 Aug. 1715.—The which day Baillie Ainslie having reported to the Councill that the gentlemen of the shyre had, on the 11th inst. resolved that all gentlemen, heretors, magistrates of burghs and others, should, against Thursday the eighteenth instant, take up a particular list of what men live within their respective precincts, from 16 years to 60 years of age, in obedience thereto the Councill resolve that Baillie Ainslie, Baillie Wilkie, George Turnbull, John Douglas, and the clerk, shall go through the liberties of this burgh on this side of the water, and Baillie Mitchell, Baillie Smart, John Cathie, Alexander Young, and Thomas Mitchell shall go through the liberties on the other side of the water against Monday the fifteenth instant, and take a list of the forsaid persons, and after this is done to present it to the Councill, and certifie it as they see fitt."

"27 Aug. 1715.—The Councill, considering the dangerous times, they condescend that their shall be ane guard keept in every side of the water, consisting of ane captain of guard, sergand, corporall, and thirtie men, and that this guard begin on Monday next, entering at six of the clock at night, and lowsing att six of the morning, and for that end they condescend that all the guns and swords belonging to the inhabitants be lodged in the tolbooth against Monday morning, in order to choose out as many of the best of them as will be fitt to serve the guard nightlie, and that the captain to be named shall always at the dismounting of his guard take charge of the said guns and swords till the next succeeding captain conveen his guard att his house and gett them from him; and they condescend thatt their be ffour pound weight of powder, and eight pound weight of lead bullets provided for each of the said guards."

"13 Sept. 1715.—The whilk day the Councill, considering the hazardous times, and that although their is guard keept, yet their is no sufficient guns ffor defending the place, those they have being most partly broken and insufficient, ffor remeid whereoff, and that the toun may be better defended by having sufficient arms, they therefor recommend to Baillie Ainslie and the clerk to go to Edinburgh to my Lord Provost of Edinburgh, and see and procure sixtie guns upon the Baillie's receipt, and recommend to them to take William Reid along with them."

'19 Sept. 1715.—This day the Baillie signified to the Coun-

cill that he had waited on the Provost of Edinburgh, and that he told him he could spare no arms to the toun, he being straitened for arms to himself."

"21 Sept. 1815.—The which day the Councill being informed that the Baillies had attended this day at the church with the rest of the heretors, to concert methods for levying eighteen men, being their proportion of twentie-five appoynted to be marched in to Edr. to-morrow be the liftenency of this shyre, for defence of the toun and castle of Edinburgh, they therefor recommend it to the present Baillies, Baillie Wilkie, Geo. Turnbull, and Alex. Gibson, to pitch on such persons within the libertie of this burgh as shall be fitt for the said service, and to fall on such methods as may secure the said persons they shall condescend on, till the time appoynted for their march."

26th Sept. 1715.—Receipt to be given for the arms to be delivered at Edinburgh to the quota of the militia raised by the respective heritors of the shire; and on the 3d October a collection is ordered for defraying the town's proportion of the militia. That proportion appears from another minute:—

"10 Oct. 1715.—The which day the Councill, considering that the Liftenency had ordered the levying of fiftie-two men to the eighteen that is alreadie levyed, and that as the full of their proportion of the militia, with fourtie days pay att sixpence per diem, which, with the levy money to be given them, will amount to upwards of one hundred pound sterling, and this being ane great sum, they recommend it to the baillies and the captain of the companys, in each side of the water, to go through the place, and collect from the maisters, householders, and servants, three pound from some, fortie shillings Scotts from others, and twentie shilling Scotts from servants, in order to make up the forsaid sum, and to see and compleat the men that are wanting against Thursday next, so that the account of them be remitted to the Sheriff Clerk against that time."

"18 Oct. 1715.—The which day the Councill, considering that they are to send in their proportion of militia this day, and that the extent of their week's pay amounts to one hundred and forty-seven pound Scotts, whereof there is not above twentie

pound in hand, they therefor empower the Baillies to borrow two hundred merks from any who will advance it, and they will grant securitie for the same, and the Councill appoint Baillie Wilkie, the thesaurer, John Douglas, Alexander Young, and the clerk to go in with them."

"27 Oct. 1715.—This day the above-named persons gave account that they had delivered in sixtie-eight men, and paid them ten days pay each, at sixtie pence per day, and this day the thesaurer acquainted the Councill that the other two men had gone in also, which makes up the town's full proportion, being seventie men."

We thus see to what trouble and expense the rising of 1715 put the burgh of Musselburgh. The collection ordered by the magistrates does not seem to have come up to expectation, for, by a minute of the 27th October, the magistrates were empowered to borrow the money "to pay what is due to the militia."

We come to the next more remarkable era in Scottish history subsequent to the Union—"the '45," and find the following minute:—

"9 Sept. 1745.—The magistrates and Councill, having mett anent the toun's affairs, and haveing taken to their consideration ane order from his Majesty's advocate, dated the 3d instant, for detaining all the boats in Musselburgh harbour or bay, and keep such a guard upon these boats as prevent them from going to sea, they therfor, in obedience to said order, in the first place agree to disable the whole boats in said harbour or bay, and that by drawing them up beyond the full sea mark, and carrying of their rudders, oars, and sails; and further, they not only agree to keep a sufficient guard upon said boats, to prevent their going to sea, but also for patrolling the streets and by roads within the jurisdiction of this burgh for the peace therof, and for apprehending all vagrant persons that cannot give a sufficient account of themselves, and for detaining such persons until they be interrogate by the magistrates, and the goard to be kept in Fisherrow, in the schoolhouse there, and agree that the guard each night shall consist of a captain, serjeant, corporall, and twenty privat

men, the serjeant and corporall to be named by the captain, and that this guard begin to-morrow night, entering always at six at night, and continue till six in the morning, and ordain every person, householders as well burgesses as not burgesses, to turn out to the respective guard as they shall be wairned by the officer, under the pain of ten pound Scots, *toties quoties*, and declares that each burges must attend himself, and not send a servant or any other in his name, unless he can give a very lawful excuse to the Captain of the guard for the time."

Prince Charles and his Highland army were at this time on their march towards the Lowlands. He left Perth on the 11th of September. To impede, or rather prevent their passage at Queensferry, all the boats on the north side had been removed to the south; hence the resolution, in compliance with the Lord Advocate's order, to disable the boats in the harbour and bay of Musselburgh.

After a brief stay in Edinburgh, Charles, on the 20th of September, passed with his small army through the market-gate, and along the old bridge of Musselburgh, taking the old kirk road to Inveresk, on his way to meet the forces of Sir John Cope.

The march, after breaking up the camp at Duddingstone, is somewhat poetically described in Chambers' "History of the Rebellion":—

"Soon after falling into the post-road, the insurgents continued their march till they entered the market-gate of Fisher-row, an old narrow street leading to the bridge. One of their number then went up to a new house upon which the tilers were engaged, and took up a long slip of wood technically called a *tile-lath;* from another house he abstracted an ordinary broom, which he tied upon the end of the pole. This he bore aloft over his head, emblematizing what seemed to be the general sentiment of the army, that they would sweep their enemies off the face of the earth. . . . . The shouts with which the symbol was hailed testified the high courage and resolution of the troops, and

but too truly presaged the issue of the approaching conflict. Charles, in passing along the market-gate, bowed to the ladies who surveyed him from their windows, bending to those who were young and beautiful even till his hair mingled with the mane of his charger. To all the crowd he maintained an aspect of the most winning sweetness. There was there, also, many a fair young chieftain, and many a gay Angus cavalier, who imitated his polite behaviour, and rivalled his gallant carriage, though without coming in for a due share of that enviable observation which, in Milton's phrase, was 'rained' upon their leader. Never again shall that old street behold a scene so animating or so grand—may it never witness one so pregnant with sorrow and with blood!

"The army now passed along the ancient bridge which there crosses the Eske; a structure supposed to be of Roman origin, and over which the Scottish army had passed two centuries before, to the field of Pinkie;* a structure over which all of noble or of kingly that had approached Edinburgh for at least a thousand years, must certainly have passed; which has borne processions of monks, and marches of armies, and trains of kings; which has rattled under the feet of Mary's frolic steed, and thundered beneath the war-horse of Cromwell. Proceeding directly onward, the column traversed, not the town of Musselburgh, but the old *Kirk road*, as it is called, to Inveresk, and entered the street of Newbigging about the centre. It then marched along the precincts of Pinkie Cleuch, and sought the high grounds near Carberry; two localities memorable in Scottish history, for the disaster and the shame with which they are connected."

The easily-gained victory of Preston having been accomplished, the Prince occupied Pinkie House for the night, and his army returned to Edinburgh next day. His Highness fixed his residence at Holyrood House, where he lived for a time in regal state—and from thence levied contributions from most of the royal burghs and towns of any note. Musselburgh was mulcted in the manner thus noted in the records:—

* This is not quite correct. Most of the army forded the river.

"Oct. 1745.—This day was presented to the Councill, by Richard Lindsay and Thomas Vernor, a letter directed to the magistrates of Musselburgh, and of which letter the tenor follows:—

'Holyroodhouse, 1st Oct. 1745.—Gentlemen, you are hereby ordered upon receipt of this to repair to the Secretary's office, in the Palace of Holyroodhouse, there to have the contribution to be paid by your town of Musselburgh for his Highness' use ascertained, which shall be done according and in proportion to the Duties of Excise arising out of the said toun of Musselburgh, for the repayment of which contribution the said dutie shall be assigned. This you are ordered upon pain of rebellion furthwith to obey. By his Highness' command (sic subscribitur,)

J. Murray.'

"In consequence of which letter the saids Richard Lindsay and Thomas Vernor went to the Palace of Holyroodhouse yesterday, the second instant, and having called for the Secretary, were ordered by him to wait upon Mr Steuart, his under secretary or clerk, who told them that the toun of Musselburgh must send in to the said Palace against Saturday next, the 5th instant, at ten o'clock forenoon, the sum of Two Hundred and Eighty Pounds sterling, or if they failzied so to doe the toun of Musselburgh would be pillaged; and promised if the money was sent in that they would give ane assignation to the Excise of this place for the toun's reimbursement.

"The Councill therefor agree that the saids Richard Lindsay and Thomas Vernor, and William Spence, present toun treasurer, shall give their credit in name and behalf of the Councill and community of this burgh for what shall be borrowed of the above sum."

Whether the burgh was ever reimbursed for this money does not appear. The magistrates, at this critical period, seem to have been at a loss how to conduct themselves. Many of the community were no doubt favourable to Charles:—

"22 Nov. 1745.—The Councill haveing mett anent the affairs of the toun, and taking to their consideration the troubles and confusion of this country, by civil wars, a vote was put about

whether or not the community of this burgh should give a loyall address to his Majesty. It was carried by a majority of votes that the Councill should take advice of proper persons whether or not said address should be made by the community, and in what terms," &c.

The army of Prince Charles once more passed through Musselburgh towards the end of October, on the way to England, and encamped a little to the west of Inveresk Church, where they had a battery commanding the south-west. The camp was afterwards removed to a stronger position near Dalkeith. On the 31st of October, the Prince, accompanied by his life guards, rode into Musselburgh, again taking up his abode at Pinkie House. Next morning he joined the army at Dalkeith.

After the defeat of the Highlanders at Culloden, and the suppression of the rebellion, the fears of the Hanoverian interest led to stringent, if not vindictive measures of precaution for the future. Judging, from the manner in which Edinburgh had yielded to the Prince, that there were among the magistracy not a few Jacobites at heart, an act was passed compelling all who held office to take what was called the Oath of Abjuration, by which they not only swore to be faithful to the reigning dynasty, but to abjure the Stuart pretensions. At the annual election of councillors in Musselburgh, in September 1746, a number of them demurred to the oath, and on the 29th December, nine of them absolutely, and, under protest, refused to conform. These were—William Hay, Bailie William Hog, treasurer, Charles Douglas, John Thomson, merchant, William Cochran, Thomas Berry, Thomas Cant, John Young, and Matthew Gray. By the 20th January, however, they demitted their offices, which were immediately filled up by parties less scrupulous, or more enthusiastic in the Hanoverian settlement.

CONDITION AND PROGRESS OF THE BURGH.

Musselburgh seems to have been by no means an exception to the general character of Scottish towns, a century or two ago, in regard to cleanliness. The Council minutes fully bear out the statement. There were few or no enclosures, and like other burghs, a town herd had to be kept to take charge of the cattle belonging to the freemen :—

"25 March 1680.—The Counsell condescends that all the stages [horses] within the burgh and liberties be putt to the comone herd to be kept, with certificatioue if any stages be found in the skaith without a herd herefter, the ouners shall be lyable to pay the skaith to the partie, and farder punished at the baillies pleasure."

"15 May 1682.—The Counsell ordaines a proclamation to goe through their liberties, discharging all ther inhabitants to suffer any of ther suine to be found upon ther neighboures skaith, under the paine of 40s., by and attour the reparand of the skaith."

"28 Nov. 1726."—All the dunghills and other nuisances to be removed from the streets and lanes, because, as the Council allege, people are prevented from coming to settle in the burgh in consequence of the filth.

"3 Oct. 1730."—Another order on the part of the Council and magistrates for clearing the streets of dunghills and rubbish, and to have the water passages *red*, under a penalty.

"12 June 1752."—The streets of Fisherrow to be paved, and the proprietors to make a footpath before their tenements, and remove the dunghills every eight days, &c.

"24 Dec. 1756."—Town's manure to be set for one year. No swine to be seen on the streets or lanes.

"17 Aug. 1760."—Gutters of Musselburgh to be causewayed.

"21 Feb. 1761."—Butchers not to kill on the streets.

The untidy state of Musselburgh, down to the latter half of last century, may thus be conceived.

There are other minutes, of a miscellaneous description, which are not altogether without interest as illustrative of the condition and progress of the burgh :—

"10 Apryle 1682.—The Counsell grants libertie to Lord Tweddall to breake ground in ther comone for ane Quarrie, whilk is to be done by advyce of some of their number, that the same be not prejudiciall to the comone, bot allowes noe stones to be winn therin till the baillies and Counsell consider the place that it does not wrong the town, highways, or arable land."

"16 Nov. 1685.—The Counsell condescends to plant with trees and fence the peace of marish ground upon the west end of Thomas Hayes land, at the head of Newbigging, and to be advysed theranent what trees will be most fitt."

"10 Jan. 1698."—Threttie pounds Scots yearly to be allowed to Mr George Adam's school doctor.

"21 March 1698."—Stent masters appointed, four for each side of the water, to stent the inhabitants anent the quota of the *taxt-roll*.

"23 June 1701.—The Counsell appoynts the clerk to ordain the officers to warne the persones deficient in payment of Buchan's Cess to make payment of their severall proportions under the pain of poynding therfor."

This tax was called Buchan's Cess from the name of the person by whom it was farmed. It is said he lost heavily by the transaction.

"6 Nov. 1704."—No sheep to be pastured on the common, but "a kow or two."

"8 Aprile 1706.—The Counsell approves of Baillie Richard Douglas his labouring of the lands in the Breadmeadows, and sowing the same for the tounes use, and ordaines the thesaurer to pay him the soume of 40$^{lib.}$ 16$^{s.}$ for the pryce of the seed and drink to the servants."

"5 Aug. 1717.—The which day the Councill have received and admitted off Thomas Feargreave, some time pyper in Tranent, to be toun pyper in lieu of the deceased James Wauch, their pyper, and hereby grant to him all the benefits that belonged to the said James Wauch, he being lyable to pay into James Wauch's relict the one-half of the next yule wages and no more."

It would thus appear that Musselburgh had always a piper, although this is the first and only notice of such an official.

"9 Oct. 1725.—The custom of calling 45 persons to witness the serving of sasines being now in disuetude over the kingdom, only the 15 persons made use of for the service is necessary.

"13 Feb. 1727."—Collection to be raised for the Town's Library.

We know not whether the library was ever instituted. The present subscription library was established in 1812.

"1 Jan. 1750."—Proposition by the gentlemen to have turnpikes in the shire—deputation to attend meeting.

"17 Oct. 1751."—Council resolve to oppose the erection of a turnpike in the street of Newbigging.

This was the first of the system of turnpikes by which Scotland has since been dotted. The year 1714 is supposed to be the epoch of turnpike roads in Edinburghshire. The first road act for Scotland was passed in 1555; but the first turnpike act was made for Haddingtonshire in 1750. The following year a similar act was passed for Edinburghshire. Toll-bars were everywhere obnoxious when first instituted.

"22 Sept. N. S., 1752.—The Counsell haveing taken to their consideration a plan sent them, and proposalls for building severall buildings in the toun of Edinburgh, for the behoof of the nation in generall, and the intention of enlarging the said toun, and as the same is proposed to be done by a voluntary subscription thro' the nation, they agree to give for the helping to execute said proposalls the sum of twenty pounds sterling out of the toun's

revenues, and that when called for by proper persons haveing authority for so doing."

It is not generally understood that Edinburgh went a-begging in this way.

"7 Aug. 1753.—The Counsell agree to get twenty-four leather buckets, to be employed in time of fires in the place; and recommend to every member of Councill to inquire into the price of buckets at London and Edinburgh, and to get four long ladders for the above purpose."

There were no fire-engines at this time.

"22 Sept. 1753."—The causeway, from the East Port to Tod's Bridge, to be repaired; as also Fisherrow Street (now the main street) to be finished to the west end of the town.

"31 Dec. 1757."—Trees planted on the street as far as Tod's Bridge.

"24 March 1759."—New road to be made from the West Mill to the Bridge.

"21 April 1759."—No new houses to be covered with thatch. This was a precaution against fire.

"11 Aug. 1759.—The Counsell order that, from and after Thursday next, the 16th instant, all potatoes that shall be vended in the burgh and jurisdiction thereof be sold by weight, and that each boll weigh twenty-four stone trois weight, commonly called oatmeal weight, and that every peck weigh 24$^{lib.}$ weight, and half pecks and lippies in proportion, and that under the penalty of two shillings and sixpence sterling each transgression," &c.

"22 Sept. 1759."—The treasurer to have £4, 10s. of salary.

"1 April 1760."—Mercat-gate to be repaired and causewayed where narrow. The rest to be made after the manner of turnpike roads.

"10 May 1760."—Archibald Sanderson, tailor, had £4 for looking after the town's public works, utensils, highways, &c.

Musselburgh seems to have been greatly burdened and an-

noyed by the billeting or quartering of the King's troops upon the inhabitants. They owed this probably to their proximity to the capital, and the salubriousness of the locality. Various minutes occur in reference to this grievance:—

"26 Oct. 1687.—The Counsell condescends that such of ther inhabitants as shall happen to be quartered upon herefter by the gentlemen of the guard or others of his Majesty's troopes of horse, shall have ane proportionall assistance from the nighbour inhabitants, for bearing the expense of coall and candle, and other charges of the said quartering, and appoynts Baillie Douglas, elder, Baillie Vernor and Baillie Duncan, Robert Smart, Andr. Smyth and George Smart to be assistants, and meet with the present baillies for casting and proportioning the said assistant quarters among the inhabitants, as they shall think fitt."

This was a very equitable arrangement, and we find it repeatedly renewed. There was properly no standing army before the Revolution, but the King contrived to maintain so many troops under the name of a guard:—

"6 May 1689.—The Counsell condescends to buy threttie bolls oats for furnishing the troups of horse presently quartered within the burgh, which ar to be putt in John Nicoll's hands to be retailed by him to the troupers, and for which he is to hold compt to the Counsell at the Convention's rates, being 8 shill. ster. the boll, and allowes the said John Nicoll Scottes for his paines in doing the same."

These were the troops raised by the Scottish Estates for the support of the Revolution.

"9 Oct. 1699.—The quhilk day, upon ane information had be the Counsell anent the quartering of some of the horse guards upon the place, therefore they appoynt Baillie Smart and Richard Douglas to goe to Edinburgh on this week to take such convevient methods as they think fitt to prevent the said quarter, and to report."

"18 Dec. 1699.—The quhilk day Baillie Smart having given in the Counsell a representation of the abuses committed be

Ensigne Labass in Baillie Smart's own house, and elsewhere, therefor they appoynt Baillie Douglas, Baillie Vernor, and R. Douglass to waitt upon the Major, and to represent the saids abuses to him, and to certifie him that they will represent the same to the Privi Counsell."

The conduct of the troops quartered in Musselburgh seems to have been of so riotous a character as to call for a stronger guard to restrain them :—

"19 Feb. 1700.—The Counsell appoynts a petition to be drawn, to be given to Major-General Ramsay, for craving assistance for the guard from the adjacent quarters, and appoynts Baillie Smart and Richard Douglas to present the same to him."

By a minute of the 9th July 1711, it appears that there had been certain abuses committed by one of the officers and a party of the soldiers quartered in the town.

"28 Nov. 1726."—James Buchanan, paymaster to Major Erskine's troop of *Gray Dragoons*, accused of pressing with his own hands Bailie Douglas horses, and threatening to break his head.

"27 April 1752."—Petitions from the inhabitants of Musselburgh and Fisherrow about quartering.

THE POOR.

The state of the poor seems to have engrossed no small share of attention on the part of the Magistrates :—

"3 Aprile 1699.—This day the Counsell mett, and, considering the caus of the poor, who ar in a starving condition, and that there is a sowme of money in the Kirk sessions hand for supplying the poor of the burgh in such a calamitie as this at present; they therefor impower Baillie Vernor, Richard Douglas, or Charles Wilsone to goe to Edinburgh and speak with Mr Howie-

* The Rev. Mr Howieson, minister of the parish. He appears to have resided, perhaps temporarily, in Edinburgh.

sone * anent the uplifting of the said sowme for supplying the poor, and upon his refusall to protest against him therefor, and otherwayes to act therin according to law, as they shall be advysed by the tounes advocat."

"20 Nov. 1699."—There was a voluntary contribution for the poor.

"27 Jan. 1724."—Owing to the increase of the poor, a contribution ordered to be gathered and mortified, to add to the usual collection.

There was at this time no other means of supporting the poor save the church collections. The increase was attributed to the growing number of stranger paupers, to check which the Council, on the 26th April 1725, prohibited landlords from letting their houses to strangers in such circumstances. The first attempt at compulsory support was made in 1731.

"7 June 1731."—The Justices of the Peace having enacted that the poor be supported in their own parishes, the Council order all lands and tenements to be valued within the liberties, and an assessment to be laid on rental.

At length it was deemed expedient to erect a poor's-house:—

"4 Dec. 1749.—The Councill agree to give of the town's funds twenty pounds sterling, towards the building of a poor-house; as also any part of the town's common which is not already feued or sett in tack, in order to build the house and yaird on, providing the same be not prejudicial to the town.

The poor's-house here mentioned was ready for the reception of the poor in 1752. Dr Carlisle says—"The best rules of management that could be devised or collected were ordained, and the house went on for many years, to the comfort of the poor, and the satisfaction of all concerned. . . . . At the end of thirty years, many difficulties having occurred from the backwardness of some to pay their assessments, and a constant intrigue among the inhabitants about furnishing necessaries, or

employing the poor, the most disinterested among the managers became heartily tired of the business. Add to this, that the house and furniture came now to need a thorough repair, which could not have cost less than £300 sterling; all which, together with an opinion that the poor could be maintained cheaper in their own houses than in the poor's-house, induced the heritors, and all concerned, after two years' deliberations, to sell the house, and add the price to the poor's-funds, which was accordingly done in the year 1781."

Since then the poor have been supported by out-door relief, at an expense of about £700 yearly.

There is a charitable endowment called *Bruce's Fund*, which is felt as a great benefit to the poor. In 1826, the late Charles Key Bruce, Esq., M.D., sometime of Philadelphia, United States, who had received his education in Musselburgh, left "£2000 sterling, as a permanent fund, the interest of which to be applied to the relief of the poor of the town of Musselburgh." By the time the money was placed at the disposal of the trustees, it had accumulated to £3015, the interest of which is distributed amongst the poor.

There is another fund called *Hastie's Fund*, left by George Hastie, Esq., Mid-Calder. It is under the management of the kirk-sessions of the Established and Secession Churches, to be lent out to decent tradesmen and young men commencing business. The factor, according to the bequest, is to receive one-half of the interest, the other half to be added to the fund.

A severe scarcity prevailed in 1757. The poor were so ill off in consequence that a *stent* had to be contributed by the inhabitants for their support, to which the Council contributed one pound.

The population of the parish in 1755, when Dr Webster made

his calculations, was 4645; but it is generally admitted that his information was inaccurate. In 1792, when the inhabitants were "carefully numbered" by Dr Carlisle, the result was 5392. In 1831, the census shewed 8961; and in 1851, 8653.

There are several *friendly societies*, both yearly and permanent, and a *savings bank*. Also a *building society*.

There are two branch banks—agencies of the Western and Commercial.

AMUSEMENTS.

The Reformation left few days of relaxation and still fewer pastimes for the people. The occasions of indulgence observed by the Musselburgh citizens were:—

The 29th of May, when bonfires were lighted by order of the magistracy, and at which they attended, "under the penalty of 40s., to see the solemnities kept;" but whether this was in honour of the King, or a relic of the old Druidical observance of Whitsuntide—the *Beal-tine*, or *Baal-fires*, of Celtic times—the records give no intimation. The *Beal-tine*, or *Beltane*, was kept up in a similar manner until lately in various parts of Scotland.

The *Riding of the Marches* was an ancient and important ceremony before the system of enclosures became general. Dr Moir states that it "still holds here, once within the fifty years. They (the burgesses) appear mounted on horseback, and armed with swords. The seven incorporated trades, each headed by its captain, follow in the train of the Magistrates and Town Council; the whole cavalcade being preceded by the town's officers, with their ancient Brabant spears, and a champion armed cap-a-pie. A gratuity is also allowed to a minstrel, who attends at the succeeding feast, and recites in verse the glories of the pageantry." The procession would no doubt be preceded, in former times, by

the town piper, while the burgh flag proudly flaunted in the breeze. It seems to have been at one time an annual ceremony, performed on the morning of St Lauretto's fair. The Council, in a minute of 1711, already quoted, attributed the decline of the fair to the marches not having been ridden for many years, and resolve "that it shall be ridden this year with all the usual marks of antiquity and respect and grandor." The pageant was observed, as appears from the Council books, in 1682, 1711, and 1750, and, as Dr Moir mentions, in 1809, on the jubilee of George III., and again in 1830.

Another festive occasion, it seems, but which has been discontinued for many years, occurred on the annual payment of the burgh dues to the superior. It was called "The Hen Feast"—an entertainment given by the Magistrates—and originated in "the kain fowls" paid by the lessees of the burgh mills.

None of these social meetings, however, are indicated in the records.

The shooting for the "silver arrow" on Musselburgh Links is an ancient pastime still kept up with all its former interest. Nowhere has the practice of the bow been maintained with similar spirit, save at Kilwinning, in Ayrshire. The revival of it there dates no farther back than 1688; at Musselburgh it seems hardly distinguishable when the annual competition of the bow merged, as an exercise of war, into a pastime of peace. There is no record of the transition. The Council books of Musselburgh go no farther back than 1635, if we except fragments of the burgh court book bearing the date 1605. The first notice we find of the silver arrow occurs in the following minute:—

"8 Sept. 1647.—Memorandum that notwithstanding Robert Dobie of Stainyhill this day wan the sylver arrow, being the third tyme quherby it became his owne, according to the ordour, yet he, for the love and affection borne be him to the weill and

standing of this burch, this same day giftit and gave bak agane the said silver arrow to Johne Calderwood, present baillie, in name and behalf of the baillies, counsell, and communitie of the same burch, to be keepit and used be thame at thair pleasour in time cuming."

The institution, however, is of much more ancient date than this "memorandum." In a book kept by the Town-Clerk, entitled the "Band of the Royal Company of Archers," there occurs "ane accompt of the noblemen and gentlemen's names who did wonn the silver arrow of Musselburgh, with ane accompt how often and when they did wonn the same." The first on this list is the Earl of Haddington, year blank, who appends a piece of gold; second, the Laird of Ardross, do., do.; third, A. E. K., do., do. Then it begins with A. B., 1601, and goes on enumerating the parties down to the year in which the list was written. It thus appears that the competition was instituted before the close of the sixteenth century, but how long it is impossible to guess. The three gold pieces mentioned are without date. But as the arrow was not shot for every year—a lapse of five, six, and seven years sometimes occurring — the first piece, by the Earl of Haddington, may penetrate a considerable way back into the century, reaching very nearly the era when the bow ceased to be used as an implement of war.

In the *New Statistical Account* it is said that the arrow "has a series of such medals attached to it from 1603 to the present time, with the single exception of the perturbed 1745;" but this is not correct. Dr Moir must also be in error when he says that "the most ancient medal attached to the silver arrow given by the magistrates of Musselburgh to be shot for annually over the Links by the Royal Company of Archers, represents one of them (the Dobie family) in the costume of the time, and the date 1603."

The first minute in the Royal Company's books is dated 12th August, 1678 :—

"The quhilk day the silver arrow of this burgh was wone be William Baillie, merchand in Edinburgh, and is delyvered up to him, having twentie-eight peices appendent thereto, viz., thrie of gold and fyve and twenty of silver, and is to be keeped be him for ane year, conforme to the custome, and then be redelyvered with his own token thereto; and for his encouragement they have given him ane silver coup, in the form of ane mussel, therefor the said William Baillie binds and obleisses him to redelyver the said silver arrow, with the respective peices appendent therto, and with his own token thereat, and that betwixt the twentie fyft day of July next to cum, 1679 years; and for his performing of the premisses Capitan John Broun, merchand in Leith, becomes bund cautioner and souertie for and with him; and the said William obleisses him to relieve his cautioner. In witness whereof they have subscrived thir presentes, tyme and place forsaid."

It is worthy of remark that this *William Baillie* was, in all likelihood, the same person who, ten years afterwards (1688), was instrumental in reviving the Papingo at Kilwinning. "William Baillie, merchant, Edinburgh," is the third name attached to the original constitution of the Kilwinning Company of Archers. His practice of the bow at Musselburgh, and his enthusiasm for the pastime, had probably inspired his Ayrshire friends with a kindred spirit. "William Baillie, merchant in Edinburgh, nephew to Major Hugh Bunten of Kilbride," married a daughter of the Laird of Enterkine, and bought the estate of Monkton, in Ayrshire, about 1688, at which period he resided in "that large house built by his uncle, Major Buntine of Kilbride, on the south side of the Green of Kilwinning." As his father, Hew Baillie, resided in Kilwinning, it is possible that his love for, and expertness in, the practice of the bow, were acquired there in youth. In 1714 he had a great accession to his fortune

by the death of Major Buntine, who left him the valuable barony of Kilbride, and he died in 1740, at the advanced age of eighty-four.

The silver arrow of Musselburgh is annually competed for by the Royal Company of Archers. Dr Carlisle, in the *Old Statistical Account*, says:—"The victor receives £1, 10s. sterling from the town, and a riddel full of claret, viz., one dozen, and is bound to append a medal of gold or silver to the arrow before the next year's meeting." The custom now is for the archers to dine together in the Musselburgh Arms after the competition.

Although none but the Royal Company, or Queen's Body Guard, are allowed to enter the lists, it is not discoverable from the books when this regulation was enacted. It is evident that the silver arrow was contributed by the burgh, with a view to promote a healthful pastime, and promote the interests of the community, and numerous minutes attest the Council's entire control over both the prize and the pastime. For example:—

"17 July 1682.—The Counsell condescends to give one token to *William Baillie, merchant*, who wone the silver arrow the last yeir, worth betwixt nine and ten pounds Scottes, and ordaines intimations to be made for shooting the same this yeir the second fair day upon the second day of August next peremptorilie, and ordaines a proclamatione for stockings and shoes the said second fair day."

The competition was thus usually, though not always, held during St James's fair in August, at which there was a market for stockings and shoes, which explains the latter part of the minute. Again—

"6 July 1702.—The Counsell condescends that the silver arrow be intimat to be shot this yeir, and a proclamation to goe through the toune upon St James fair day for that end as use is, to be shot upon the 4th August, and that ther is noe token to be given to them that winneth the arrow, and whoever wins is to

find caution for delivering the arrow back again betwixt and Whitsunday next, and the pieces to be numbered. It is heirby declared that whoever winneth the arrow for three years altogether, may cary the same, and dispose thereupon at ther pleasure and noe otherwyse. There is 33 peices of silver, and 3 peices of gold att the arrow."

This very absurd enactment was soon afterwards modified. In 1705 the Council resolved to give a token of 20s. to the winner; and in 1709 it was entirely rescinded. The "Councill considering the antiquity of the said arrow, and the many noblemen and gentlemen that ther are appended thereto, and how honourable it is for the burgh to have the same preserved," expressly declare that "in all tyme coming, how oft soever any person shall wonn the said silver arrow, shall be obleidged to find sufficient caution for re-delivering the same back to the toun."

There are several instances of the arrow having been gained three times successively by the same individual. For example, Mr Drummond, Edinburgh, in 1711, had possession of it for the third year, and was complimented by the Council with "ffifty-six pound Scotts for his civility in returning" it.

The late Sir Patrick Walker also had the honour of gaining it for the third time in succession.

In 1856 (last year) the arrow had 124 large pieces, and 37 small (inclusive of the gold tokens) appended to it—making in all 161—weighing 13 lbs. 8 oz., so that, although an arrow, it is no *light* matter. It is contained in a box, and is altogether a singular remain of old times.

The game of *golf* has been an immemorial pastime on the Links. In Holland they have a game called *kolf*, which is played "in an enclosed rectangular area of about 60 feet by 25." Both the Dutch and Scotch names are probably from the Greek. The two games, however, are very different—the *kolf** resembling

* In the old *Statistical Account* an excellent description of this game is

more the practice of the billiard table. Golf is a game of out-door recreation—exercise without fatigue, with sufficient accuracy and science to make it interesting. There is a good illustration of golf-playing, and a historical account of the game, in *Kay's Edinburgh Portraits*. It is uncertain at what time it was introduced into Scotland, but it is supposed to have been in the middle of the fifteenth century, at least to have then become of importance as a national amusement. It is not mentioned in the act of Parliament against football, in 1424, but is specially referred to in that of 1457. Football and golf were forbidden, that archery, which was useful in war, might be practised. Golf was a favourite amusement with the citizens of Perth, as well as those of Edinburgh, where, from "ane letter" of James VI., the business of club-making had become of such consequence as to require the royal protection. Charles I. is said to have been extremely fond of golf, and so was the Duke of York, afterwards James II., while he resided at Holyrood in 1681-2. Duncan Forbes, Lord President of the Court of Session, was so enthusiastic in the pastime, that he used to play on Leith sands when the Links were covered with snow. Leith and Musselburgh Links were the favourite resorts of the golfers. A golf club, consisting of the principal gentlemen of Musselburgh and vicinity, was formed in 1760, and still continues to flourish. "A handsome silver cup is annually played for, the winner of which retains possession of it, and is captain of the club for one year, and attaches a gold or silver medal before the next competition." * The game is much practised by the youths attending the schools and boarding schools, who rally in clubs under the names of their respective establishments.

given from the pen of the Rev. Mr Walker, one of the ministers of Canongate, who had been resident in Holland for a number of years.

* *Statistical Account.*

Bowls were not unknown at Musselburgh about the middle of last century :—

"2 May 1761.—The Counsell agree that, as some persons incline to make a bowling green at the east end of Musselburgh, the same shall be advertised for that purpose, and after staking off the same that the road from Musselburgh eastward be forthwith repaired."

We know not whether this resolution was carried into effect. The public bowling green now in existence is at the west end of the town, near the Railway Station. There is also a private green, maintained at considerable expense.

The horse races annually run over the course at the Links form, of course, part of the attractions at Musselburgh. They are, however, of Edinburgh origin, and were formerly held on Leith Sands. They were transferred to the Links in 1817, when the field was levelled, staked, and a handsome view-house built. The Links, situated at the head of Musselburgh, extend along the shore eastward towards Westpans.

PROPERTY AND INCOME OF THE BURGH.

The process of disposing of the property of the burgh in feus —besides the mere sites for building upon—must have begun at a pretty early period. In a list of the charters granted by the town since the Revolution, there appears one of the Holmes to William Sheill and his wife, granted in 1697. John Smart, north side of Musselburgh, has one in 1699. William Coult has a precept of *clare constat* of lands in Newbigging in 1701. John Wauchope of Edmonston has a charter of certain lands east of Magdalene Bridge in 1701. Edward Jossy, Westpans, has another in 1711. John Gibson, gardener, Newbattle, has a charter of three acres of land in the North Common, 12th Nov.

1711. Thomas Wilkie has a charter of certain ground at the East Port, 15th Dec. 1715. Colin Campbell had a charter of the Sandy Haughs, 22d Dec. 1739. In 1729, Sir James Dalrymple wished to feu the Common Myre, on the Fisherrow side, at a guinea the acre; but, owing to the clamour of the burgesses, the Council declined:—

"29 Sept 1730.—Day and date forsaid, the Counsell agree that Sir James Dalrymple have liberty to inclose that small gushet of common ground from the corner of Niel Stewart's house in a direct lyne to the corner of the little sommer house that was possesst by Robert Angus, in regard it is of little use to the toun, none of the common hirsle ever going that length by *Genties*."*

In 1743, in consequence of the town's pressure for money to build a new harbour, eleven acres of the Common Myre were feued to Sir James Dalrymple, at his former offer of one guinea per acre. In 1753, Mr Patoun had a rood acre at the east end of Inveresk for £37, 10s, being thirty years' purchase, at 25s. and half a merk Scots yearly.

In 1760 (11th April), the Council agree that the whole of the Town's Common, except the Links, should be let out to the highest bidder.

Referring to the Links, Dr Carlisle says—"The inhabitants of Musselburgh had need to watch over this precious field for health and exercise, lest in some unlucky period the Magistrates and Council should be induced to feu it out, on pretence of increasing the revenue of the town. At present it is a common, to which every burgess has a right of pasturage; although part of it has already been let off in feu, which has made the entry to the town, both from the east and west, less free and open than it formerly was, and greatly decreased the beauty and amenity of the place." These words of warning were not uncalled for.

* The seat of the local custom called *Gentes*.

Of late several feus have been disposed of, still farther encroaching upon the Links. Some spirited persons in the burgh, however, have protested against the proceedings of the Council, and a plea, in consequence, is now in the Court of Session.

REVENUE OF THE BURGH.

It would be difficult to ascertain precisely from the Council books what the income of the burgh amounted to in early times, the accounts are so run into one another. In the loose book, however, formerly mentioned, there is a distinct and intelligible statement, entitled,

> "*Roll of the toun's haill renttes, patrimonie, and casualties, made in presence of the Baillies and haill Counsell convenit the last of Septr.*

1636.

The common housses and fleshers buothis for Martinmes and Whitsonday last 1636 - lxxxxvij^{lib} 6^{s} 8^{d}
The customes of the Harberie, set to George Strachane ic^{lib}
The customes of the wechtis and firlottis of Fischerrow, set to George Smart - - xvi^{lib}
The customes of the wechtis and firlottis and flesch stokis of Mussilburgh, set to W$^{m.}$ Stob - lxxj^{lib}
The customes of the Magdalenis - iij^{c}xxxiij^{lib} 6^{s} 8^{d}
The fischingis of the dam and water, set to Alex^{r} Johnestoun - - xlvj^{lib} xiij^{s} 4^{d}
The toun's annuelis and burrow maills - lix^{lib} j^{s} vij^{d}
The Quhinnis (whins, or moor) - v^{lib} 3^{s} 4^{d}
Item, Johne Bairdis byrun few maills - xxxi^{lib} 4^{s}
Item, James Marteinis licence to sell and lay tymmer upon the shoire - - x^{lib}
Wm. Scott for his Littill Houss - xiij^{s} 4^{d}
Gilbert Conquerynde, for his daill houss - x^{s}
The few duties of the Holmes - ic^{l}xij^{lib} 6^{s}
The rude of the Brigend for libertie of casting dovettis, extending in the haill to - vii^{lib} xviij^{s} 8^{d}
The haill teindsylver - - ic^{l}xix^{lib} xv^{s}

The mortclaiths - - -	xxvi^{lib}
The stallange roll of Mussilburgh and Fysherraw for this year 1636 - -	xxxix^{lib} vi^{s} 8^{d}
The new maid bergesses - -	i^{c}lxx^{lib} vi^{s} 8^{d}
The bluds and troublantes* -	i^{c}xxxii^{lib}
The new given out ground and staires -	xlij^{lib} 4^{s}
The maillis and dewties of the new given out lands of the south common - -	iii^{c}xxx^{lib}
The panherthis - -	iii^{lib} vi^{s} viij^{d}
Robert Duncan's fyne -	xiij^{lib} vi^{s} viij^{d}
James Lithgow, curlmaker, his fyne -	lvi^{lib}
Walter Guthries composition -	xij^{lib} 13^{s} 4^{d}
The rest of Robert Penmanis entri for his new land	xxxiij^{lib} 6^{s} viij^{d}
David Ramage, sone to James Ramage, his vnlaw for not transporting of sum stanes bak agane to the schoire - - -	v^{lib}
Summa of this charge	jai ix^{c}lviij^{lib} 4^{s} 3^{d}"

£1958, 4s. 3d. Scots; or £97, 18s. 4¾d. sterling.

The income of the burgh in 1838 was £2244, 1s. 2d.

The town appears to have got pretty deeply into debt at an early period. This is attributed, in a minute of Council of last century, to the fact of their having bought up no small portion of the superiorities. From a statement of the various bonds and their amount, it appears that the bonded debt of the town, in 1656, was 22,000 merks, or £1222, 4s. 5¼d. sterling. It was, in 1839, £16,406, 14s. 4d. In 1758, when Sir Robert Dickson was a member of Council, a reduction on the interest of the debt was thus effected:—the Council resolved that "every person who had money in the town's custody, for twelve years and upwards, be writt to, that unless they sink their annual rent to 4½ per cent., they will be paid up their whole principall and annual rent against Martinmas next." Most of the town's creditors agreed.

* Fines of the Burgh Court.

EARLY COMMERCE.

It is said that the foreign trade of Musselburgh in the middle ages was "so large as to draw the special attention of the Dutch States, and excite their wishes for its continuance." This may have been the case; but we have seen from the Council minutes, elsewhere quoted, that in 1700 it had no foreign trade whatever. In the loose book, formerly mentioned, there are yearly *rolls* of the ships entering the harbour. From these it appears that there was little other trade than that in wood. As somewhat curious, we shall quote the following list of arrivals during the summer of 1635.*

"*Roll of the Schippis enterit the Harberie of Fischerraw sen the ffirst day of May* 16 35

Thomas Adamsone, in Carraill, the said ffirst of Maij 1635, enterit his bark, callit the *Swan*, with tapmast, laidened wt treis and daillis.

4 Maij 1635.—Robert Small, skipper in the Elie, enterit his schip, called the *Margaret*, laidened with xic daillis, and vijc double and single treis, and about i jai (1000) skewis, ic stingis (poles), fadome of burnwode.

6 Maij 1635.—Andro Thomsone, skipper, in the Elie, enterit his bark, wt twa topmastis, callit the *Gude Fortoun*, laidined with iijc and half hundreth daills, iic double and single treis, viijc stingis, vi skewis.

xi Maij 1635.—David Muresone, in Monross, enterit his bark, called the *Gift of God*, laidneid wt nyne cha. beir. [chalders bear.]

xxi Maij.—Duncane Thomsone, in the Elie, enterit his schip, call the *Elspeth* of the Elie, laidned wt vc treis, grit and small, and vijc daillis.

5 Junii 1635.—William Adamsone, in Syllerdyk in fyff, under the Laird of Balfoure, enterit his bark, callit the *Providence*, laidned wt ijc daillis.

* It was enacted by the Scottish Parliament, so late as the reign of James V., that ships should not go to sea between the 28th of October and the 2d of February.

xxij Junii 1635.—Johne Adamsone, in Carraill, enterit his schip, callit the *Grewhound*, laidned with vj^{c} daillis, ii^{c} treis, and sum stingis and burnwood.

William Tailzeour, in Carrail, enterit his bark, called the *Margaret* of Carraill, laidned with iij^{c} treis, iiij^{c} daillis, xiiij^{c} skewis or therby.

10 Julij 1635.—James Wilkie, in Dysert, enterit his schip, called the *Johne* of Dysert, laidned with vij^{c} treis, ij^{c} daillis, or thairby, with sum stingis.

Eod die.—Williame Wilsone, in the Livin, enterit his bark, called the *David* of Livin, laidned with iij^{c} treis, iiij^{c} daillis, jai stingis or yrby.

xiij Julij.—Thomas Watsone, in Anstruther, enterit his bark, called , laidned with iij^{c} daillis, j^{c} treis or yrby.

xviij Julij 1635.—The said Johne Adamsone, skipper, in Carraill, enterit his said schip, called the *Grewhound*, laidned with vj^{c} daillis, ij^{c} treis, and sum stingis and burnwood.

xxij Julij 1635.—The said Williame Adamsone, in Syllerdykes, enterit his said bark, called the *Providence*, laidned with ix^{c} treis and daillis.

xxiiij Julij 1635.—The said Thomas Adamsone, in Carrail, enterit his said bark, called the *Gude Fortoun*, laidned with iiij^{c} treis, i^{c} daillis, iij^{c} stingis, jai skewis or yrby.

Such was the description of shipping which frequented the port of Musselburgh in 1635. Most of the wood was brought from Norway.

In 1856 the amount of shipping was as follows:—Arrivals coastwise, 108 vessels of 5162 tons; do. from foreign, 40 vessels of 2914 tons. Sailings coastwise, 11 vessels of 428 tons. Foreign arrivals consist of:—From Norway, 11; Belgium, 4; Denmark, 3; Holland, 2; Hanover, 1; Hanse Towns, 3; Prussia, 7; Russia, 8; Sweden, 1.

GRAIN, AGRICULTURE, COLLIERIES.

As to the prices of grain the Council Books supply only a few

incidental notices. In 1682 (8th Feb.) the "pryce of good and sufficient wheat" was "seven pund Scottes" (seven shillings sterling)—the boll, we presume, is understood. In 1689, according to the Convention's rates, corn for the troops was 8s. sterling the boll.

Mr Charles Wilson had been treasurer for some time, and died in the town's debt. His affairs were surrendered to a committee appointed by the Council:—

"12 Feb. 1706.—The whilk day the before named Committee having reported their commission, they give in accompt of the roup of Charles Wilson's cornes, and his broun staig, as follows: Imprimis, sold to Patrick Herriot, yor a stack of oats for 68lib 10s Scots. Item, to Richard Douglas, baillie, a stack of pease for 4lib money forsd. Item, sold to Robert Vernor, late baillie, a stack of oats and some pease above it, for 68lib. Item, to Thomas Foot, a brown staig of two years old or yrby, for 30lib money forsd.; extending in haill to the soume of 345lib 10s., for which soumes every one of the above named persones have accepted precepts payable to Patrick Herriot, elder, present thesr., against the term of Whitsunday nixt, which precepts are dated the 5th of February instant, and appoynts the thesr to grant discharges of their respective soumes, bearing warrandice att all hands; all which the Counsell approves."

Prices appear at this time to have been very low. Of course, unless we knew the extent of the stacks it is impossible to judge of their value. It is otherwise with the horse—the "broun staig of two year old or thairby"—which cost only 30lib, or 30s. sterling!

Agriculture is supposed by Chalmers to have made some progress in Mid-Lothian before 1070, the commencement of what he calls the Scoto-Saxon period. "At that epoch, and for ages afterwards," however, he says, "this great district was covered with woods;" a fact which proves that tillage could not have made much progress, although they might shelter large flocks

and herds, and numerous game. Near Edinburgh was the forest of *Drumseilg* (in Gaelic the hunting-ridge), where David I. is said to have been attacked by a stag. From his domain of Liberton, he "conferred—among a thousand privileges—on the monks of Holyrood, thirty cart-loads of brushwood;" and Alexander II. gave his *forest* of Gledehouse to the monks of Newbottle." The same monarch, in 1234, as already mentioned, granted a *free warren* to the monks of Dunfermline over their lands of Musselburgh. It does not appear from any of the early charters that the parish of Inveresk was at any time covered with wood. The lower portion of it was probably of too light a soil to carry forest trees, as the granting of a free warren would indicate. It is probable that it was selected by the Romans, as the site of a colony, chiefly because of its openness, in contrast with the deep forests with which the country was covered. It is also probable that, during their protracted residence at Inveresk, they cut down much of what timber they found on the higher grounds. Be this as it may, the *Shirehaugh* seems to have been the only wooded portion of the parish in more recent times. The Romans, in all likelihood, tilled the soil, though much of the art of agriculture may have been neglected in the numerous wars which followed their evacuation of the country. All the cereals—wheat, corn, bear, rye, &c.—were early cultivated in Scotland. Sir John Dalrymple of Cousland was the first to introduce the sowing of turnips and planting of cabbages in the fields. He was also among the first to sow clover and rye-grass.

It is known that the Roman roads which intersected the parish continued, down to a recent period, to be the only means of communication. "By the charter of David I." according to Dr Moir, in the *New Statistical Account*, "confirmed by Pope Gregory in 1234, the right was conferred upon the Magistrates of Mus-

selburgh of levying a toll at the western extremity of the parish, for the purpose of upholding the Roman bridge over the Esk, and repairing the streets of Musselburgh." A toll is still exacted near to Magdalen Bridge, under the name of the *Gentes Custom*. How this appellation arose seems not to be understood. Dr Moir indeed refers to the "vague report that the first tacks-woman was named *Janet*, and that familiarity afterwards changed the same from *Janet* to *Janety*, and thence more remotely to *Gente*." (!) In one of the minutes of Council (29th Sept. 1730), previously quoted, the place where the custom is exigible is called *Genties*. A scholar might suggest that it is derived from the Latin *gens*, *gentis*—a nation, a people; for assuredly the bridge and street of Musselburgh form a portion of one of the great highways of the kingdom, and therefore the imposition may truly be considered a *national* one. From this tax, as Dr Moir observes, "it is evident that wheel-carriages were not in common use at this period [when the tax was imposed], either here or elsewhere in Scotland; yet are these mentioned not only by the same illustrious king [David I.] in his charter of Holyrood, but repeatedly for the next century, in the cartularies of the different monasteries." As we have elsewhere remarked, in reference to the carts of Musselburgh, popular writers have been under a great mistake as to the recent use of carts in this country. It is quite possible, at the same time, that the badness of the roads, especially for long journeys, rendered the use of beasts of burden preferable.

The whole statement, however, is incorrect. There is no mention of the custom in the charter of David I., nor in that of David II., or his successors, although it may have been authorised by "use and wont." In 1661 (20th Feb.), the Bailies and Council of Musselburgh petitioned the Commissioners for Trade and Bills for an increase of their bridge customs. They

said they "were empowered for vpholding of the Medlen (Magdalen) bridge and other two bridges besyd the said toune of publict concernment to exact ane Scottis pennie of each horse that past the saids bridges with loads, whereof they had been in possessione manie yeirs bygone, which being a most inconsiderable thing, came far short of the expenssis," &c. The Parliament accordingly passed an Act, of the same date, gifting to the burgh two pennies Scots for each horse load, and eight pennies Scots for each cart load, passing at the bridge of Musselburgh, for upholding thereof, and other bridges therein mentioned. Prior to 1661, it would thus appear the toll was called the Magdalen's Custom. Under this designation it forms one of the items in "the roll of the toun's haill rentes" in 1636; and it could hardly have originated so far back as the time of David I., since the Council only claim to have been in possession of it "manie yeirs bygane." The site of the custom is called "*the Genties*" in a minute of Council in 1730; and in 1782 (30th May and 1st July) a contract was entered into "between the county of East Lothian and the town of Musselburgh, respecting *Gentie's Toll*," by which the Road Trustees were to collect the custom and maintain the roads and bridges.* That the toll was called the Gentes Custom before the gift of 1661 does not appear.

That collieries and quarries were wrought in the parish of Inveresk as early as the reign of Alexander II., if not previously, is ascertained from a charter still in existence, granted by Seyer De Quincey, Lord of the Manor of Tranent, to the Monks of Newbottle, confirmatory of their lands of Preston, *bounded by the rivulet of Pinkie*, with the right of working coal and stone, "*carbonarium et quararium*," within these lands. This charter

* This arrangement was perhaps never gone into, or continued only for a short time, as the town still collects the dues.

must have been obtained between 1202 and 1218.* From the cartulary of Kelso we learn that there was a *petarie*—before the discovery of coal—on the lands of Camberon, Easter Duddingston, which is the western boundary of Inveresk parish. Coal has always been wrought in the parish since the charter of De Quincey. In 1531 there was a contract between the Abbots of Dunfermline and Newbottle, by which the latter became bound to "drive the coill of Preston Grange to the boundis of Pinkin (Pinkie) and Inveresk." "There is still extant," says Dr Moir, "a tunnel which runs under Eskgrove House, through which a part of the river Esk had at an ancient period been conducted to drive a wheel at Pinkie, used for draining the coal seams there. The expense, labour, and difficulty of making the tunnel must have been very great. It was begun in November 1742, and finished in May 1744. The north entrance to it is built up, and may be seen in the plantation within which Eskgrove House stands. The south entrance to it has not been traced. This extraordinary aqueduct was constructed by William Adam, architect, of Edinburgh. That gentleman erected a coal-work at Pinkie in 1739, out of which he extracted the water by a horse-machine. This was, however, found to be inefficient, and he determined to cut an aqueduct through the hill on which Inveresk stands. Preparatory to this great undertaking, he cut a canal from the Esk to the foot of Inveresk hill, above a mile in length. Coming here upon a bed of sand, it became necessary to sink two shafts, one at each extremity of his intended aqueduct, to the depth of 50 feet. He then began his duct through the rock. Between these shafts the aqueduct is nearly 800 feet in length, 4 feet in width, and 6 in height, and about 100 feet below the surface of the hill on which the village is situated."†

* Chalmers' Caledonia. † New Statistical Account.

In the town charter chest, there is a contract by the magistrates of Musselburgh on the one part, and *John* Adam, architect, on the other, allowing him to carry and drive an aqueduct from the main water of Musselburgh to his coal engine, upon the conditions therein expressed,* dated 16th Nov. 1749. We thus see that the statement of Dr Moir is wrong, both as to the Christian name of the party, and the date of the undertaking.

As to the quarries, there was an official regularly appointed by the Magistrates and Council, called "The Town's Quarrier":—

"20th Nov. 1713.—The Councill, considering that John Hunter, the toun's quarrier, is now deceased, they admit of James Tillerray to be quarrier in his place, only during the Councill's pleasure."

EXTENT AND APPEARANCE OF THE PARISH.

The parish of Musselburgh extends, east to west, along the coast of the Firth, from the Ravenshaugh Burn to Magdalene Bridge, a distance of about two miles and a-half, in a semicircular form. It is nearly of the same breadth, running southward from the sea into the interior. The situation is altogether delightful. The greater portion of it forms a flat of rich light soil, a few feet above the level of the sea, with the river Esk flowing down the centre. On the east the plain is bounded by a gentle rising ground ascending from the sea "in a swelling course to the hill of Inveresk, where stands the village of that name," and the parish church. The south side of the hill takes the form of a crescent, at the foot of which glides the winding Esk.

The hill of Inveresk, in short, commands a most extensive

* These conditions were that the aqueduct should be withdrawn when there was a deficiency to drive the burgh mills.

prospect. Looking northwards, the town of Musselburgh, with its "red and blue" covered houses, and ancient spire, spreads out along the shore of the Forth beneath; and away beyond the sail-covered estuary, appears "the kingdom of Fife," with its many towns, villages, and harbours. The Ochill Hills, and Benlomond, in clear weather, are also distinguishable. Westward, Inchkeith, Portobello, and the shipping in the harbour of Leith are plain; but the town itself, as well as Edinburgh, is hid from the eye. The extensive plain, of which the hills of Inveresk and Falside form the eastern boundary, sweeps away to the foot of Arthur's Seat, Duddingstone, and even the Pentlands, leaving all between as distinct and beautiful as if it were a vivid picture spread out in canvass before the spectator. To the south the dark woods of Dalkeith and the blue hills beyond bound the range of vision in that direction. South-east Carberry Hill and Castle, with Falside, are seen; but the woods of Eskgrove interrupt the view eastward, where the battle-field of Pinkie, and the House of Drummore, lie within a short distance. It is indeed singular that, viewed from a particular position, the fields of Roslin, Carberry, Pinkie, and Prestonpans, are all within sight of each other; as the crow flies there is not more than eight miles between the extremities.

It may be truly said that there are no scenes of striking magnificence or grandeur in the parish—no mountains or glens of romantic or fairy interest—but it is the very absence of these which lends to it that peculiar sweetness which every visitor feels and admires. With a fine light soil, and an extensive undulating plain—no dark high peaks to attract the watery clouds—there is a freedom and a buoyancy in the air which has the happiest effect upon the temperament. With abundance of spring water everywhere, it would be difficult to conceive a more desirable or healthy summer residence. Inveresk, with its gentle elevation, gardens,

and woods, and delightful rambles, is peculiarly so. Maitland, in his *History of Edinburgh*, calls it "the beautiful village of Inveresk; which, from its situation, houses, and salubrity of air, is justly reckoned the finest village, and most healthy place in Scotland." It used to be styled *the Montpelier of Scotland*. "Snow never lies for any length of time," says the *New Statistical Account*, "and frosts are much less intense than at higher elevations in the neighbourhood. A singular instance of the power of attraction is frequently observed in summer. The clouds, carried by a west wind along the Pentland Hills, are seen, on arriving at their eastern extremity, to diverge either to the south, passing along the ridge of Carberry, or to the north, emptying themselves into the waters of the Forth."

The sea is within easy access for bathing, and its saline properties renders the winter much more tolerable than in the higher altitude of Edinburgh. We know of few scenes so enlivening as the Esk presents in its gentle flow between the two towns. The bed of the river is wide, open, and free, and rows of trees adorn the walks on each side. Standing on the three-arched, high-centred old bridge, the visitor has a capital view both up and down the stream. Above it is spanned by a wooden bridge, over which the Musselburgh railway stretches to the terminus at the east end of the ancient fabric. Farther down is the new bridge, by Rennie, an elegant stone structure of five elliptic arches; and still lower a wooden one for foot passengers. Beneath, above, and below, the Esk is swarming with domestic ducks and geese, disporting themselves in every kind of aquatic gambol, while on the banks possibly ascends the curling smoke from the washing fires of a party of fisherwomen. One would think that the hundreds, if not thousands of fowls thus mingled together, would render the claims of ownership somewhat difficult. Not so. "Soon as the evening shades prevail," strings of the feathered tribes, all in separate

bands, and spotlessly clean, may be seen waddling home to their "respective places of abode," some of which are at a considerable distance from the river. In consequence of its amenity of climate, Musselburgh is the resort of numerous families enjoying annuities, or of persons who have retired from business. The Links afford ample scope for the gentle exercise of golf, and there are a bowling-green and curling-pond for those who enjoy such pastimes. There are also delightful walks along the banks of the Esk as far as Dalkeith, and the town, on both sides of the river, is thickly planted with gardens and orchards. There is no lack of mental food besides, there being several bookselling establishments and public and private libraries and reading-rooms. Altogether we look upon Musselburgh as one of the most pleasant residences on the coast.

It was chiefly owing, we believe, to the healthiness of the locality, that during the French war Musselburgh was selected as the site of extensive wooden barracks—extensive enough to accommodate, as the building frequently did, upwards of 2000 men, of the militia and volunteer cavalry. In 1797, and subsequently, Sir Walter Scott, as quarter-master of the Edinburgh Light Horse, spent much of his time about Musselburgh. The presence of so many troops, and the consequent circulation of no small amount of money in the district, must have greatly enhanced the prosperity of the place. The breaking up of this depot, towards the close of the war, was of course severely felt. It is no doubt owing to the existence of the barracks for so long a period in the vicinity, that the churchyard of Inveresk records on its monumental stones the deaths of so many individuals connected with the army.

It is probable also that from the salubrity of the district, Musselburgh and Inveresk are at present the sites of so many asylums for the insane. There are at least nine establishments of this kind in the parish.

LITERARY AND OTHER DISTINGUISHED PERSONS.

Musselburgh may be considered classic land. It seems to have been a favourite resort of the literati not only of Edinburgh but elsewhere. The manse, in the days of Dr Carlisle, as we have already mentioned, was a hospitable retreat of the learned. At the west end of the High Street a house is still pointed out which figures in "Humphrey Clinker" as that in which Dr Smollett was received by Commissioner Cardonnell.* At the end of the wooden bridge, on the Fisherrow side, and close to the river, stands the villa of Eskside, once the residence of Professor Stuart, father of Gilbert Stuart. About the beginning of the present century, when Sir Walter Scott was quarter-master of the Edinburgh Light Horse, Monk Lewis, a well-known novelist, resided in Fisherrow; and in our own times it has been rendered famous as the birth-place and residence of Dr Moir, the *Delta* of *Blackwood*, to whose memory a full-length statue upon a pedestal has been erected by the inhabitants of Musselburgh, at the east end of the new bridge. It bears the following concise but expressive inscription:—

IN MEMORY
OF
DAVID MACBETH MOIR.

BELOVED AS A MAN;
HONOURED AS A CITIZEN;
ESTEEMED AS A PHYSICIAN;
AND CELEBRATED AS A POET.

BORN 5TH JANUARY 1798, DIED 6TH JULY 1851.

Macbeth was his mother's name. There is a feu-contract between the town and Robert Moir and Elizabeth *M'Beath*, his spouse,

* Mansfield Cardonnell, Esq., was elected one of the bailies 29th Sept. 1757.

in conjunct fee and liferent, of ground next the Episcopal Chapel, dated 11th Sept. 1804. Dr Moir was the centre of a literary circle of the day. With Galt, the novelist, who came to live at Eskgrove in 1823, he was upon the most intimate terms. When Galt left hurriedly for America, his "Last of the Lairds" remained unfinished; and such was his confidence in Dr Moir that he entrusted him with two or three of the concluding chapters—the winding up of the story. Nor did he see the *finale* for two or three years afterwards, when he laughed heartily at the manner in which his substitute had disposed of some of the characters. With the "Modern Pythagorean"—Macnish of Glasgow—Moir was on terms of close friendship; with Robert Chambers and Thomas Aird he maintained a happy intercourse; and Professor Wilson frequently visited Musselburgh, spending the evening and night with his family, a welcome and honoured guest. His literary acquaintances may be said to have embraced the entire range of British living authors.

In the words of the Rev. Mr Beveridge,* "the name which in modern days has reflected the greatest lustre on this parish is that of David Macbeth Moir, Esq., the distinguished *Delta* of *Blackwood's Magazine*, who, amidst all the harrassing duties of the medical profession, has found time to embody in many chaste and touching strains those high imaginings which visit the mind of genius; as well as to stray into the paths of richest and broadest humour—witness 'Mansie Waugh's' irresistible drolleries; whose laborious history of the art which he has himself so successfully studied forms a most valuable acquisition to the practitioner; whose songs, in the recent republication of 'Burns' Lyrics,' with music, take a deserved place beside those of the illustrious national minstrel; of whose genius the fruits are to be found scattered over every department of periodical literature:

* New Statistical Account.

and who with the gifts of genius has none of those defects of character which have too frequently sullied the brightest talents."

"The Poetical Works" of Dr Moir were published in 2 vols. post 8vo, by Blackwood and Sons, in 1852. They were edited by his friend *Thomas Aird*, who contributes an interesting memoir of the author, from which it appears that he was born at Musselburgh on the 5th of January 1798. As is well known, he prosecuted the medical profession with great diligence and success. He died at Dumfries on the 6th July 1851, his death having been accelerated by an accident some years previously.

Mr Aird, in his memoir of *Delta*, mentions "Andrew Picken, an ingenious young man belonging to the neighbourhood of Musselburgh," who, in 1826, consulted Dr Moir as to some poetry in manuscript which he wished to publish. His advice was such as to dissuade the author from rushing into print at that time; but he soon afterwards turned up in London, a literary adventurer. His "applications to Moir for literary help, in one scheme after another, were manifold and painful." Writing to him on one occasion, in reference to Galt's health, he says—"You are well off, not to depend on literature as it has been of late. I can hardly wonder at Galt's being rather shame-faced about it, and the sort of reputation it brings even to such as he. I have tried to get out of it, and back to mercantile life, but cannot. There's infatuation and poverty in it!" Mr Aird says, in continuation—"Poor Picken! he could not, and did not get out of it. He died very soon thereafter, with the galling harness on his back. One warning more to young men, enforced with all the solemnities of suffering, sorrow, and death." Picken was the author of *The Dominie's Legacy*, a work of considerable merit.

"It is a curious circumstance that William Walker, one of the most eminent portrait engravers in London, and Burnet, the

most distinguished of all the historical picture engravers of this kingdom—himself an eminent historical painter and writer on art—should both have been born in this parish."* In art, says the *Statistical Account*, it also claims "Alexander and John Ritchie, the former of whom was the favourite pupil of Thorwaldsen, sculptors, now of Edinburgh." John died some years ago in Italy. In Musselburgh churchyard, the visitor may observe a dial stone resting against the wall at the south-west entrance to the church. In addition to the figures, indicating the hours and minutes, it bears this inscription :—"*Sic transit gloria mundi.* Archibald Handasyde, Piscatorii, fecit. MDCCXXXV." The author of Chambers's *Picture of Scotland*, referring to Inveresk, derides the idea of a *fishmonger* indulging in such a classic motto for his tombstone! Archibald Handasyde, fisher, was the sculptor of the dial stone, which he executed in 1735—122 years ago. The stone had been built into the wall of the old church, which had no other time-piece, and when that venerable fabric was demolished, it was carefully laid aside. The same sculptor, a self-taught artist, has left various other memorials of his taste for art in the obelisks and gravestones of Inveresk churchyard; and from him Alexander Handyside Ritchie of Edinburgh is descended by the mother's side. Mr Ritchie's taste for the fine arts, and his talent as a sculptor, may therefore be spoken of as hereditary. The late Dr Moir and Ritchie were intimate, and he took much interest in his success. The monument to *Delta*, already mentioned, is the production of Mr Ritchie. Like all his other undertakings of a similar kind, the statue is universally admired as an excellent likeness, and beautiful as a piece of workmanship.

It is perhaps worth mentioning that Lord Clive and Sir Ralph Abercrombie were, at different seasons, both inhabitants of the

* Statistical Account.

villa of Loretto. Major-General Stirling, the captor of the standard of the Invincibles in Egypt, resided in the parish after the close of the war, and died here.

Admiral Sir David Milne, distinguished in the naval annals of the country for his capture of *La Pique* frigate, and who was second in command at the bombardment of Algiers, may be said to belong to the parish, since his relatives, who were merchants in Edinburgh, possessed the villa of Campie House, Fisherrow, where they resided and died. The Admiral died on the 5th May 1845.

Logan, the poet and divine, was educated at the Grammar School of Musselburgh. So was Lieutenant Drummond, the framer of the Reform Bill, and the inventor of "the Drummond lights"

In the *New Statistical Account*, *Lord Hailes* is not included amongst the eminent persons belonging to the parish. It is true he was born at the town house of the family in Edinburgh, but their principal residence was at *New Hailes*. Sir James Dalrymple, Bart., of New Hailes, is repeatedly mentioned in the town records, and he was the father of David Lord Hailes, who was born in 1726. His father was the youngest son of the first Viscount Stair, and held the office of Lord Advocate of Scotland during the reign of George I. Sir James himself was auditor of the Court of Exchequer. Young Hailes studied at Eton, and became an advocate at the Scottish bar in 1748. He was never remarkable as a pleader, being somewhat diffident and precise in his manner of treating a subject. He was elevated to the bench in 1766, and is celebrated for his finical notions in the "Court of Session Garland":—

> "This cause," cries Hailes, "to judge I can't pretend,
> For *justice*, I perceive, wants an *e* at the end,"—

which satire is said to have been founded on an actual fact. Lord

Hailes, it is well known, never had any particular taste for the law. He originally contemplated a literary career, but was induced to turn advocate, owing to the circumstances of the family after the death of his father. In literature, as an antiquary and historian, Lord Hailes has left an imperishable name. His Lordship lived for some years in the Mint Close, but his favourite residence was New Hailes. He died in 1790. Leaving no male issue, the property fell into the hands of the Fergussons of Kilkerran, his Lordship having married, secondly, Helen, daughter of Lord Kilkerran, grandfather of Sir James Fergusson of Kilkerran, Bart.

Heritors.—The principal heritors are—1. The Duke of Buccleuch and Queensberry, who is patron of the parish; 2. the Earl of Wemyss and March; 3. Sir Archibald Hope, Bart. of Craighall and Pinkie; 4. Capt. W. F. Elphinstone, R.N., of Carberry; 5. William Aitchison, Esq. of Walliford; 6. Sir James Fergusson, Bart., to whom belongs the estate of New Hailes; 7. John Wauchope, Esq. of Edmonstone; 8. the Town of Musselburgh, the property belonging to which is held of the Duke of Buccleuch.

MAGGIE DICKSON.

Amongst the notable characters belonging to Musselburgh we must not omit noticing "half-hangit Maggie Dickson." Dr Carlisle says—"No person has been convicted of a capital felony since the year 1728, when the famous Maggie Dickson was condemned and executed for child-murder, in the Grassmarket of Edinburgh, and was restored to life in a cart, on her way to Musselburgh to be buried. Her husband had been absent for a year, working in the keels at Newcastle, when Maggy fell with child, and to conceal her shame, was tempted to put it to death.

She kept an ale-house in a neighbouring parish for many years after she came to life again, which was much resorted to from curiosity. But Margaret, in spite of her narrow escape, was not reformed, according to the account given by her contemporaries, but lived, and died *again*, in profligacy." It is said Maggie attended church—a rather rare thing for her—the first Sunday after her recovery.

Maggie was no doubt indebted for much of her fame to the poem, by "Alexander Pennecuik, gent.," entitled "The Merry Wives of Musselburgh's welcome to Meg Dickson." It was printed, amongst others, in a collection, and published as a "chap book." It is full of broad and coarse humour, well adapted for the country fire-sides of former times. In the "Merry Wives," Maggie's fate is represented as having been deeply lamented by "three clav'ring carlings o'er their pot," when one of them, boasting of her "Shetland cockle shell" and her powers of witchcraft, exclaims—

> "At our new key I'll shipping tak,
> And if I bring blyth Maggie back,
> I think a' Musselburgh may crack,
> And Fisherraw;
> Girzie, ride ye upo' my back,
> And we'll awa!"

Their project was, with the aid of "*Jean Jap*, who lives in Pittenweem," to "dance upon the ladder top," and "glamer cast" upon Hangie (John Dalgleish), so that his usual success might fail him. The third carlin, left behind, was to

> "—— ca' a' the kimmers in,
> And be upon a merry pin,"

so as to give Maggie a proper welcome. The arrival of "Meg Dickson, in her winding sheet," is described as having created

much consternation, and a flock of carlins gathered in to hear the story of the half-hanged woman's escape :—

"Out o'er the hallan keikt Nanse Blair,
Cry'd, Cheat the woodie, are ye there,
Ye're e'en the very wale o' ware,
An' sonsie dear,
My heart's grown glad that was fu' sair,
To see you here.

* * * * * * *

"Now Maggie, I'll harle in the stool,
Although the sowin pot should cool,
Fegs I could clatter here till Yule,
And no think lang,
Meg, tell me, ye've been at the school,
Is't sair to hang ?

"Quo' Meg, let me my story tell,
Soon as I frae the gallows fell,
I came awa' in cockle shell,
Which Bessie gave,
'Tis better in Musselburgh to dwell
Nor a cauld grave.

* * * * * * *

"I took a rest at Pepper-mill,
A het-pint and a double gill,
Indeed it did not do me ill ;
But meikle guid ;
Peter Purdie, wha has right guid skill,
Of me drew bluid.

* * * * * * *

"Syne I came unco bravely hame,
When I got sunkets in my wame ;
I'll tell ye a', and ne'er think shame,
Sae wad ye a' ;
Whan folk's half hang'd wha can them blame,
To rin awa'.

"Now, kimmers, sin' I am come back,
E'en let us birle about our plack,
What wad I gie'n for sic a crack,
Upo' the leather!
I dinna mind a word I spake
When in the tether!"

HOUSES ON THE EAST SIDE OF THE ESK.

CARBERRY TOWER.

The lands of *Caerbairin* (Carberry) and Smeton, were included in the charter of the manor of Inveresk, granted by David I. to the Monks of Dunfermline. Carberry House, which consisted originally of a single square fortalice, is situated on the northern slope of the hill, nearly at the southern extremity of the parish. Its history is obscure. It is not noticed by Patten, or any other of the historians of the battle of Pinkie, though it is known to have been in existence at the time. That the tower was built more for strength than ornament is evident from its construction; but some years ago it underwent a thorough repair, rendering it more in unison with the ideas of modern times. The under storey is strongly arched, and lined with oak pannelling; and what is now used as the kitchen seems to have been at one time the keep. "The bartizan is characterised by the antique quaintness of its mouldings, and its garniture of "winged cherubs." In 1547, the tower and property of Carberry were the property of Mr Hugh Rigg, the King's advocate, who is frequently spoken of in the histories of Knox and Pitscottie. By the former he is mentioned as having, in 1534, witnessed the mental agonies of Cardinal Beaton, after that dignitary had condemned many of the Reformers to the flames; and the latter states that he was one of the four to whom the governor, Arran, communicated the overtures of the Duke of Somerset, immediately previous to the

battle of Pinkie. Pitscottie says—"These letters coming to the governor, he revealed the same only to his brother John, Archbishop of St Andrews, George Dun, Abbot of Dunfermline, Archibald Beaton, and Mr Hugh Rigg of Carberry, by whose advice he concealed the Protector's letters and reasonable offers from the nobility, for fear lest they embraced them."

The lands of Carberry descended for several generations in the same family. Between 1557 and 1585, James Rig of Carbarrie had an assedation from the Abbot of Dunfermline "of ye landis quhilk pertenit in tak to Rot Lumsden." "Magister Quintigernus Rig, hæres Jacobi Rig de Carbarry, patris," was retoured in a tenement in Edinburgh, on the 29th January 1600; and he had a charter from Queen Anne of the lands of Carberrie, 1st April, 1600. Again the family is mentioned in the account of the parish by the Rev. Adam Colt, minister in 1627:—"Thir landis pertenis to James Rig of Carbarrie, and ar in maynsing as he has tak of the teindis of the same, and ar possest be himselfe." From this family the property was acquired by the Dicksons, who were descended from the well-known Mr David Dickson, Professor of Divinity in the University of Edinburgh. Sir Robert Dickson of Carberry occurs in the Council books of Musselburgh in 1702. He was previously designed of Sornebeg. He died in 1712, leaving his son a minor. This son, also Sir Robert Dickson, was chief bailie of Musselburgh during the rebellion of 1745. He died in 1760.

From the Dicksons, which family is now extinct, or their heirs, the estate was acquired by John Fullerton, Esq., brother of William Fullerton, Esq. of Carstairs. On the death of Mr Fullerton, he was succeeded by the late Col. James Fullerton Elphinstone, in right of his grandmother. He was the fourth son of the Hon. William Fullerton Elphinstone, and Elizabeth Fullerton, his wife, niece of John Fullerton, Esq. He died in

1857. The property continues in the family, and is now possessed by Capt. W. F. Elphinstone, R.N.

Carberry House is a beautiful residence. It forms the angle of a square which fronts south and westward. It is embosomed amid orchards, venerable oaks, chestnuts, and elms. It commands a delightful view west, and of the Frith to the north. In the garden behind the south side of the building, "a dial stone, aged and green," bears the date 1579. The first, apparently, of the additions to the old tower is inscribed "1765," and was no doubt built by Mr Fullerton. Considerable improvements are now in progress, which, when completed, will add greatly to the beauty of the house and grounds. In the tower there is a picture of the surrender of Queen Mary, taken from a painting in Buckingham Palace.

TOWER OF FALSYDE.

The old castle of Falsyde, which overtops the ridge of the hill north-east of Carberry, is in the parish of Tranent, though it stands close to the boundaries, and can scarcely be omitted in any account of the more remarkable places connected with Musselburgh. "Sir Robert Sibbald, in his 'History of Fife,' quotes a charter by the Earl of Winchester to Adame de Seton, in 1246, *De Maritagio heredis Alani de Fawside*, from which, as well as from some incidental passages in Maitland's 'History of the House of Setoun,' it is evident that Falsyde Castle was a heritage of the younger branches of the Seton family. It was first acquired by them from intermarriage with the *De Quinceys*."* Yet we find, in the reign of Robert I., a charter "to John Montfod of that part of Traurnent (Tranent) quilks was William Ferrers, Knight, *et cum tenendriæ totius terre de Fausyde, et annuo redditu inde debito quond. Alano la Suche*." Subse-

* Notes to Delta's Poems.

quently, however, Alexander Seton had a charter from the same monarch, "of the barony of Traurnent, in constabulario de Haddingtoun, et vic. de Edinburgh, whilks William Ferraris forisfecit, the lands of Fausyde, whilk Allan Suche forisfecit," &c. The same lands are repeatedly confirmed to the family of Seton.

In the reign of Robert II., however, we find a change in the proprietorship. That monarch confirms a charter granted by William de Setoun to *John de Fausyde*, of the lands of Wester Fawside, in the barony of Tranent. A Malcolm de Fawside, in 1366, grants a charter to which Simon de Preston, sheriff of Edinburgh, was a witness. The property continued with the Fawsides of that Ilk down to a late period, and had been held by them during the battle of Pinkie in 1547. Patten, in his history of Somerset's expedition, says that the castle was very busy all the time of the battle shooting at the English with their hand-guns and hackbuts, for which the Protector set the house on fire next day, and the inmates "for their good will brent and smothered within." The tower being of great strength, and arched to the top, did not sustain much damage, and seems to have been repaired. "Thomes Fawsyde de eodem" had a precept of sasine from the Abbot of Dunfermline between 1555 and 1583. A large additional tower, after a more convenient fashion, was built apparently about 1618, which figures, with the initials J. F., J. L., are above one of the windows. In this division the rooms are larger, and have been well lighted. It would appear as if some attempt had been made at the same time to give better light to the old fabric by breaking out little windows. This division of the building has the appearance of considerable antiquity. The whole—ancient and modern—has long been in ruins. "The dove-cot of the ancient fortalice still remains, and within it is a curious place of concealment, secured by an antique grated door. There is a similar hole of secresy in

the staircase of the oldest part of the castle." As it stands, without tree or shelter of any kind, on the high ridge of the hill, the massive oblong block of stone and lime, crumbling away, has a truly bleak appearance. "It is now the property of Sir George Grant Suttie, of Prestongrange and Balgonie, having descended to him through his maternal ancestors, the Seatons, Earls of Hyndford."*

SHERIFFHALL.

This house was situated at the extremity of the regality on the east side of the Esk. Musselburgh was at one time called *Musselburgh-shire*, and had been the residence of a Sheriff. The *Shire-mill* and the *Shire-wood* took their name from this circumstance. In "the buik with the blak covering," belonging to the Abbey of Dunfermline, extending from 1555 to 1583, we find a charter to "*Jacobi Giffard de Sherefffhall.*" When the lordship of Musselburgh was confirmed to the Earl of Lauderdale, Sheriffhall was excepted in favour of the Earl of Morton.

SMETOUN,

the old house of, stood at the south end of Inveresk village. According to the rental-book of Dunfermline, this property belonged to a family of the name of Richardson. In 1567, James Richardson of Smeton, and Elizabeth Douglas, his spouse, together with their son James, had a charter from the Abbot of Dunfermline of the four corn mills of Musselburgh. They had also a charter of the coal of Walliford: "Carta Jacobi Richardsone ejusque filij de Carbonaria Wallefurd." In 1586, "Jacobi Richardsone de Smetoun ejusque spouse et filij," had a charter "de tribus de bonatis† terrarum de Inveresk." The same parties

* Notes to Delta.

† Are we to interpret "*tribus bonatis*" as signifying the *good people* of the lands of Inveresk? We know that slavery did exist in Scotland, and

had a charter of the lands of Smetoune and the mill of Musselburgh "de terris de Smetoune molendino de Musilburgh," 20th Feb. 1594. Sir James Richardson of Smeton occurs from 1620 till 1627. In 1628, James Richardson, younger of Smeton, ratifies all dispositions granted by his father. The ancestor of the Richardsons of Smeton was Robert Richardson, vicar of Eckford, in Roxburghshire, a wealthy churchman, afterwards Lord High Treasurer of Scotland, who acquired the estate of Gogar in 1555, and died in 1571. Matthew Anderson had a charter of *Old* Smetoune, 20th Jan. 1607. Smetoun is now the property of the Duke of Buccleuch, but it was still an independent holding at the beginning of last century. The "Laird of Smeton" is mentioned in a minute of the Town Council of Musselburgh, in reference to the Walk-mill in 1704.

INVERESK.

It is said that in 1547, when the Battle of Pinkie was fought, there were, besides the church, only two shepherds' houses at Inveresk. Between 1557 and 1585, Peter Dury* had an assedation of the tithes of the lands of Inveresk. In 1603 (13th April), Robert Douglass had "inquisitio quarundem terrarum Inveresk." Agnes Keir had a charter of confirmation of the lands of Inveresk, 1st March 1610. Inveresk now consists of a series of villas, commencing with Inveresk House, and sweeping round the brow of the hill, crescent-ways, overlooking the beautiful bend of the river westwards beneath, and the holm-land stretching beyond it. In summer the gardens and enclosures, from the river up the incline, appear

was not legally set aside until the time of Cromwell. The tenantry were gifted or sold along with the lands.

* He was in all likelihood a relative of George Durie, the last Abbot of Dunfermline, who was of the family of Durie of that Ilk. He held the office from 1530 till the destruction of the monastery.

in rich luxuriance, while the spreading woods round the villas themselves afford the most gratifying shade. Nowhere is a more healthful or delightful community of self-contained mansions. —many of them of baronial dimensions—to be found. *Delta* thus describes the scene in one of his sonnets to the Esk :—

> "Down from the old oak forests of Dalkeith
> Where majesty surrounds a ducal home,
> Between fresh pastures gleaming thou dost come,
> Bush, scaur, and rock, and hazelly shaw beneath;
> Till, greeting thee from slopes of orchard ground,
> Towers Inveresk, with its proud villas fair,
> Scotland's Montpelier, for salubrious air
> And beauteous prospect wide and far renowned.
> What else could be, since thou with winding tide
> Below dost ripple pleasantly, thy green
> And osiered banks outspread, where frequent seen,
> The browsing heifer shows her dappled side,
> And 'mid the bloom-bright furze are oft descried
> Anglers, that patient o'er thy mirror lean?

The walls of Esk House grounds, belonging to John Hamilton Colt, Esq., of Gartsherrie, run close to the churchyard. The first of this family is said to have been one of the French Hugenots, who became a professor in St Andrews' College. His son, Oliver Colt, an eminent lawyer in the time of Queen Mary, was the father of Mr Adam Colt, appointed minister of Inveresk in 1609. This gentleman wrote an account of the ecclesiastical state of the parish in 1627, which has been printed by the Maitland Club. He was succeeded in the same charge by his son, Mr Oliver Colt, who died in 1679. The family are repeatedly mentioned in the burgh records. Sir Robert Colt occurs in 1692, and again :—

"4th Jan. 1700.—The Counsell condescends to uplift the 1400 merks in Sir Robert Coult's air's hands, against Whitsunday nixt, and appoynts the thesaurer to make intimatione of the same to them."

The deceased Sir Robert was a distinguished lawyer. The family have thus been connected with the parish for nearly three hundred years.*

Eskgrove, divided only by the Newbigging road from Esk House, is a pleasant, and, as its name implies, a retired residence. It was acquired, together with the small property attached to it, by Sir David Rae, Bart., who succeeded Lord Braxfield as Lord Justice-Clerk in 1799. He was the son of the Rev. David Rae, an Episcopalian clergyman of Edinburgh. He studied for the bar, and was admitted advocate in 1751. After a successful and honourable career, he was promoted to the bench in 1782, when he assumed the title of Lord Eskgrove. He was considered a sound and clear-headed lawyer, and had the honour of a baronetcy conferred upon him in 1804, not long before his death, which occurred on the 4th October of that year. Lord Eskgrove† married Margaret, daughter of Dugald Stewart, Esq. of Blairhall, a near relative of the Earl of Bute.

His Lordship was succeeded by his eldest son, Sir David Rae, Bart., who had early entered the army. Sir David died, leaving no male issue, in 1815. Dame Helen Colt, his lady, died at Paris in 1820.

Sir William Rae, Bart., the second son, succeeded his brother. He was long Sheriff of Edinburgh, and held the office of Lord Advocate from 1819 to 1830. He was again appointed to that office in 1835, on Sir Robert Peel's accession to power. In 1837 he represented the county of Bute in Parliament. He died in 1842. His lady, Dame Mary Stuart, died in 1839. The Misses Rae, his daughters, reside at Eskgrove.

Among the other distinguished occupants of the villas of In-

* For an account of the family see Burke's "Landed Gentry."

† There is a good likeness of Lord Eskgrove in *Kay's Edinburgh Portraits*, accompanied by a brief memoir.

veresk may be mentioned, *Lady Milne; Lady Mary Oswald*, Manor House; *Miss Fergusson*, Catharine Lodge; *Major-General W. B. Dundas, C.B.*, Halkerston Lodge; *Sir David Wedderburn, Bart.*, Inveresk Lodge, &c. Sir David represents the Wedderburns of Ballandean, in Perthshire, and of Blackness, in Forfarshire. His grandfather was taken at the battle of Culloden, attainted, and executed. His father, however, continued to assume the title, and was created a Baronet of Great Britain in 1803.

The villa belonging to the family of the late Admiral Sir David Milne is situated nearly opposite the Church, on the ridge of the crescent looking westward, and commands a beautiful view.

WALLIFORD,

now the property of William Aitchison, Esq. of Drummore and Walliford, is mentioned in an early charter of the monks of Dunfermline, of the lands of Pentekyn. It belonged at one time to a family of the name of Binning, who were of some note in the law, and frequently consulted by the magistrates of Musselburgh. One of them, says Dr Carlisle, was a Lord of Session about 1672, and built the mansion-house of Walliford. The Binnings were in possession of the property in 1731. When Dr Carlisle wrote, (1793), Walliford belonged to James Finlay, Esq.

DRUMMORE

was known as Westpans, and belonged to a family of the name of Jossy. In 1711 (17th July), the magistrates of Musselburgh granted a charter of Westpans to Edward Jossy. His father, Robert Jossy, possessed the property previously.

HALLIS WALLIS.

There was an ancient property and mansion on the south side of Newbigging, called, in the title-deeds, *Hallis Wallis*. It was

ultimately acquired by the town, and from the title-deeds it appears that in 1478 (19th Oct.), Henry Froge, burgess of Musselburgh, granted a charter to Simon Preston (of Craigmillar), of a croft of land called *Hallis Wallis*, at Newbigging. On the 6th January 1523, a precept was granted by James, Commendator of Dunfermline, to the Magistrates and Council, for infefting George Preston as heir to his father, Simon Preston of Craigmillar, in "ane croft of land called *Halleswalls*, lying on the south side of the village of Newbigging, within the liberties of the town of Mussilburgh, betwixt the lands sometime of Thomas Dughtie on the south, the arable lands of Inveresk on the west," &c. In 1663, John Buchanan, of that Ilk, was served heir in right of his mother, Elizabeth Preston, to the croft of land called *Hallis Wallis*, with mansion-house, yeard, and dovecott of the same, &c. In 1630, Elizabeth Preston, spouse of George Buchanan of that Ilk, as heir to David Prestoun of Craigmillar,* had a retour of Halis Walls, &c. In 1670 (25th Aug.), William Sharp of Stonyhill had an instrument of sasine, proceeding on a disposition in his favour by John Buchanan of that Ilk, of all and haill the croft of land called Halis Walls, on the south side of Newbigging, and others therein mentioned. In 1668, William Sharp of Stonyhill disponed the lands of Hallis Wallis, with the pertinents, to the Magistrates and Council of Musselburgh.

WHITEHILL.

The Prestons of Whitehill were a branch of the Craigmillar family. The first of them that occurs in the burgh charters is Mr Richard Preston of Whitehill, who, in 1544, had a charter of certain lands from his father, Simon Preston of that Ilk. In 1576, John Preston of Whitehill, heir of his father, and Jean

* The: the ancient line of Preston of Craigmillar terminated in a female.

Crighton, his spouse, had sasine of the property. In 1588, David Preston was served heir to his father, John Preston of Whitehill. In 1689 there was Sir John Ramsay of Whitehill.

PINKIE HOUSE.

"Pinkie House" has long been consecrated to the Scottish muse:—

"By Pinkie House oft let me walk,
And muse o'er Nelly's charms!
Her placid air, her winning talk,
Even envy's self disarms.
O let me, ever fond, behold
Those graces void of art;
Those cheerful smiles that sweetly hold
In willing chains my heart.

"O come, my love! and bring anew
That gentle turn of mind:
That gracefulness of air in you
By nature's hand design'd.
These, lovely as the blushing rose,
First lighted up this flame,
Which, like the sun, for ever glows,
Within my breast the same.

"Ye light coquettes! ye airy things!
How vain is all your art!
How seldom it a lover brings!
How rarely keeps a heart!
O gather from my Nelly's charms
That sweet, that graceful ease,
That blushing modesty that warms,
That native art to please!

"Come then, my love! O come along!
And feed me with thy charms;
Come, fair inspirer of my song,
Oh fill my longing arms!

A flame like mine can never die,
While charms so bright as thine,
So heavenly fair, both please the eye,
And fill the soul divine!"

These verses were written to an old and sweet air, resembling a church melody called "Rothe's Lament," by Joseph Mitchell, who was born in 1684, and died in 1738. He is said to have been the son of a stone mason, but the place of his birth is unknown. From his acquaintance with the locality, it is possible that he belonged to the Regality of Musselburgh. In the author's time Pinkie House was regarded as one of the finest mansions in Scotland; and popularly, though erroneously, believed to have a window for every day in the year. The name of the old air has long ago been superseded by that of "Pinkie House." Mitchell was by no means a man of genius, yet he became somewhat distinguished in literature. He was the author of an opera called *The Highland Fair*, and of two volumes of poems, published in 1729. He was so liberally patronised by Sir Robert Walpole as to be usually styled the premier's poet.

Much contrariety of opinion and ignorance prevails as to the building of Pinkie House. The general belief is, that it was built by the first Earl of Dunfermline, about the beginning of the seventeenth century. Indeed, the *Chronicle of the House of Seton* distinctly says—"He acquired the lands of Pinkie, where he built ane noble house, brave stone dykes about the garden and orchard, with other commendable policie about it." An inscription on the front of the building, now hid by recent additions, bears "Dominus Alexander Setonius hanc domum ædificavit, non ad animi, sed fortunarum et agelli modum 1613," the meaning of which is, that Lord Alexander Seton built this house, not after the fashion of his mind, but after that of his fortune and estate. In the *New Statistical Account*, Dr Moir derides this

inscription as a *vanity*, which "can bear no reference to the foundation of the building. . . . It appears to have been originally a country seat, appertaining *ex officio* to the Abbots of Dunfermline," and "from a minute examination," he continues, "we are convinced that many parts of the house must have been built long anterior to the time of the first Earl of Dunfermline, who died here in 1622, and whose body was afterwards laid out in state in the church of St Michael, at Inveresk. The primary mansion, which appears to have been intended as entire by itself, is the most northern part of the present edifice, and comprehends the massive square tower with its picturesque turrets. The walls are of great thickness, and the ground floor is strongly arched. It contains, besides, a number of quaint and curious apartments, accessible only at angles of the staircase, the spacious room, styled *par excellence* 'the King's Room'—from one of the abbots having entertained his Sovereign there, and which bears, in its stuccoed roof, the marks of an antiquity considerably antecedent to the seventeenth century.* The more southern portions of the building, containing the painted gallery and other fine rooms, are evidently not so ancient; nor, indeed, are the floors on the same level, although doors have been opened through the original gable. But even to this second addition we cannot assign a date posterior to the removal of the Scottish Kings to England—as we are told that this gallery, which is 120 feet long, was used as an hospital for the wounded after the battle of Pinkie; and its roof, painted in compartments throughout, exhibits all the traces of that mixture of mythology, heraldry, and

* So circumstantial is Dr Moir, that, in a foot-note, he adds—"Traditional *fama* whispers to us, that during one season, the holy Abbot gave up Pinkie House as a summer residence to James V.—and that here the gay and gallant monarch enjoyed the society of his beautiful favourite Margaret Oliphant."

romance, which characterised the mind and monarchy of the wise, yet womanly, the erudite, yet pedantic, James VI."

It may well be asked what connection there was between the era of Pinkie and the mind and monarchy of James VI., seeing that the battle occurred during the minority of his mother! But the Doctor is not yet done.

"Pinkie House, although a very large structure, is evidently only part of a magnificent Gothic design, which has never been completed. It appears to us that the building was intended to be quadrangular, and that the fountain of elaborate architecture, in the shape of a Papal mitre, which stands upon the green in front, should form the centre of the court. The original garden still remains, with its ornamental walls, and richly carved doorways, pilasters, and sun-dials; and the grounds which surround the whole are eminently beautiful."

There is greatly more fiction than fact in this account of Pinkie House, and an almost inexcusable want of research. The Abbots of Dunfermline were no doubt over-lords of Musselburgh, and possessed the lands of Pinkie, but that they pandered to the well-known gallantries of "the gudeman of Ballangeich," in the manner described, is not at all probable, seeing that the "King's Room" was not in existence in the reign of James V., nor yet when the battle of Pinkie was fought. From the Dunfermline cartulary we learn that, between 1555 and 1583, "Magistri M'Gill"* had a charter from the Abbot—"terrarum de Pinkie de Carse, cum *fortalicio de* Pinkie," from which it is evident that the square tower or fortalice only was then in existence. All conjecture is thus at an end. The addition, containing the

* Ancestor of the late M'Gill Crichton, Esq. of Rankeillor, well-known for the part which he took in the Disruption. When on the platform at Musselburgh, on one occasion, he alluded to the circumstance of his forefathers having been connected with the place.

"King's Room," must have been built subsequently to the granting of this charter. Mr James M'Gill was no doubt a kirkman, or clerk, from the prefix *magister*, which was only applied to the learned. He had also a charter of confirmation "de novo molendino de Mussilburgh," from the Abbot.

Under these circumstances, we see no reason to doubt the fact recorded by the inscription, and stated in the *Chronicle of the House of Seton*, that Pinkie House was built by the first Earl of Dunfermline—that is to say, the two additions containing the King's Room and Painted Gallery, which in reality constitute *the house*. These additions were made in a straight line, on each side of the fortalice or tower, and in immediate connection with it, forming one side of a square only. The most northerly portion may have been the first erection, built soon after 1596, when the Earl was appointed keeper of Dunfermline Abbey by Queen Anne. He had then the title of Lord Urquhart, with all the privileges of a Peer of Parliament. The other was probably not finished till 1613, the date of the inscription over the old doorway. He was then Earl of Dunfermline, the patent being granted in 1605. The building has all the characteristics of the reign of James VI., which blended strength with convenience and ornament. The Tolbooth or Council-House of the Canongate, Edinburgh, with its tower and turrets, is not older than 1591, and the style is in several respects similar to Pinkie House.

If proof were wanting, it seems to be confirmed in the fact that the initials of the Earl, "A. S.," intertwined together after the fashion of those of *William Schaw*, master of works at Dunfermline, fill numerous compartments on the roofs of the two smaller apartments on the same floor with the King's Room. These are interspersed with coronets and cinque foils, and are to be found as ornaments on numerous projections. Above the mantelpiece, in the smallest of the two rooms referred to, are the

arms of the Earl moulded in stucco, and in excellent preservation. These are, as given in Wood—quarterly, 1st and 4th, or, three crescents within a double tressure, flowered and counter-flowered, gules; 2d and 3d, argent, on a fess, gules, three cinque foils of the first. *Crest*—a crescent, gules. *Supporters*—two horses at liberty. *Motto—Semper.* The arms in Pinkie, however, in addition to the word *semper* above, have the following below—

"Nec cede adversis Rebus,
Nec crede secundus,"

which is merely a variation of his father's—

"In Adversitate, Patiens;
In Prosperitate, Benevolus.
Hazard yet Forward."

The first Earl of Dunfermline, it is well known, was Alexander Seton, fourth son of George fifth Lord Seton and Earl of Winton. His father, after the disaster of Langside, fled to the Continent, and for a time, it is said, drove a waggon and four horses in the Low Country for a livelihood. Hence his motto of patience in adversity. There was a picture of the *wain* in Seton long gallery.

The Earl of Dunfermline had studied for the Church in the College of Jesuits, and had actually taken holy orders. He afterwards betook himself to the law, and became Lord President of the Court of Session. He was Lord Chancellor of Scotland as well, and enjoyed various lucrative offices. He was an especial favourite, both with James VI. and his Queen, as indeed the whole family of Seton were. Brought up in the Roman Catholic persuasion, doubts were entertained of his Protestantism; yet, whatever may have been his religious bias, he conducted himself with so much propriety and moderation, that he was ten years Provost of Edinburgh subsequently to 1596.

It is rather curious that Dr Moir gave no attention to the arms and initials of the Earl in the apartments referred to. In the King's Room, which has a finely painted roof, lofty and airy, they do not appear. Having thus demolished the traditional *fama* about James V. and his favourite, it is perhaps necessary that we should account, on other grounds, for the title of the "King's Room." As already stated, the Earl was a great favourite with their Majesties. When James VI. succeeded to the English throne in 1603, "Alexander Earle of Dumfermeline," says the *Chronicle of the House of Seton*, "had left to his custody and keeping and government, by King James and Queen Ann, when their Majesties went to England, their second son, Charles, then not three years of age, whom he keeped in his house three years, and carried him into England himselfe, by land, to the King and Queen's Majesties, well and in health; for which faithfull service the King's Majestie was thankfull to him." In Douglas's Peerage it is stated that the Earl had also Prince Henry under his charge prior to the King leaving for England. Although these facts are perhaps enough to have associated the name of the apartment in question with royalty, it is quite possible, from the kindly footing on which he stood with his Majesty, that King James himself made use of it when visiting—on some unchronicled occasion—his faithful and illustrious subject. It may, moreover, have been fitted up as the King's apartment in prospect merely of a royal visit.

The more southern portion of the house, which contains the Painted Gallery, as already stated, may not have been finished till 1613. It is a spacious apartment, about eighty feet in length, with a high ceiling, called a *coach roof*, from its resemblance to some of the more antiquated coach patterns. It was probably built after the model of the *Long Gallery* at Seton, or the King's Hall at Falkland. The

roof, which is lined with wood, is elaborately painted in compartments, the prevailing colours (water) being blue and red, mixed with gold. The subjects are chiefly illustrative of the classics, and heathen mythology, no doubt suggested principally by the Earl himself, who was an excellent scholar. Most of them have appropriate Latin inscriptions. The centre painting is in the form of a circle, resembling a Grecian theatre, and seems to be a representation of Apollo and the muses. This compartment is much lighter than the rest, and throws its radiance, as it were, over all the others. The colours are no doubt much faded, and the roof is beginning to give way a little, still it is a wonderful apartment. Chambers, in his *Picture of Scotland*, describes it as the "most unique in Scotland, except the still more faded King's Hall at Falkland." The difficulty of executing such a task may readily be conceived. The artist must have lain on a platform on his back; and it is said that he died either before the work was finished, or immediately afterwards, from exhaustion. There are several fine paintings, consisting chiefly of portraits belonging to the Hope family, who are now the proprietors of Pinkie; but there is one near the entrance, said to belong to the Setons. It is a three-fourth length portrait of a lady, and a child standing by her knee. She is called "the green-lady," from the prevailing colour of the painting. Superstition has invested the picture with dread to the timid—and no doubt the servants and children were often frightened with stories of the Green Lady. The portrait is excellent as a piece of art. Her dress is a greenish silk or satin, and the body is neat and youthful, yet the features, though not unpleasant, have a peculiarly withered and almost *eldrich* appearance. She is said to have been a *Lady Jane Seton*, and to have murdered the child; and it used to be believed by the domestics that her ghost haunted Pinkie House. The story, however, may be utterly unfounded, and we mention it

merely to show that, like most other old baronial residences, Pinkie is not without its supernatural legends. The only lady of the Seton family, who would at all answer to the time, was Lady Jean, daughter of the third Earl of Winton, who died unmarried in 1636. There is a possibility that she might have lived in her latter days at Pinkie House, and died there.

The wounded at the battle of Pinkie, in 1547, could not, as we have shown, been accommodated in the Painted Gallery; but it is probable enough that it was used as an hospital after Prestonpans, in 1745. Prince Charles is said, in the *Picture of Scotland*, to have passed two nights here—the night between the 31st October and the 1st November, and again on his return from the victory. It is more likely that he occupied the King's apartments.

That the Earl of Dunfermline originally contemplated erecting "a magnificent Gothic quadrangular building" is somewhat doubtful. The evidence of this Dr Moir found in the "fountain of elaborate architecture" which stands in front of the house, and the unfinished state of the south-east side of the square. Now this latter portion of the building is apparently of much later erection than the others, and may have been the work of the succeeding proprietor. As finished by the Earl, the house seems to have been perfect in itself—built *not after the fashion of his mind, but after that of his fortunes and estate.* And that this was no *idle vanity*, is corroborated by the fact that, although in possession of many lucrative offices, his lordship died poor. The fountain would no doubt form a beautiful centre ornament in a quadrangular building, but it was equally suited to adorn the lawn in front of the house. That the form of the Papal crown was selected for this piece of architecture, may be accounted for by the early education of the Earl at Rome, and the leaning of the family towards the Roman Catholic system of worship. It

was, besides, the most elegant and capable of beautiful finish that could have been chosen. It is evidently of the same age as the house, though of later date than the fortalice. All round it bears the cinque foil and initial ornament "A.S.," with which the more northerly interior apartments are decorated. And the following motto is inscribed under the crown of the tiara:—"Fonte hoc frigidior quo non vel purior alter et capiti et membris."

The Earl of Dunfermline died at Pinkie House in April 1622, aged sixty-seven. In 1662, a poem was printed by the heirs of Andrew Hart, entitled "Teares for the Death of Alexander, Earle of Dunfermling, Lord Chancellor of Scotland." This poem, edited by James Maidment, Esq., has been reprinted by the Bannatyne Club. The Earl appears to have taken no small interest in the affairs of Musselburgh. He procured the gift from Charles I. for the endowment of a music-school; and there is among the town's papers a recommendation by Queen Ann and the Earl, as bailie of the Lordship of Musselburgh, for contributing to the building and support of the harbour, in consequence of the King's recommendation for that purpose.

It is said by Dr Carlisle that the Tweeddale family acquired Pinkie on the forfeiture of the Dunfermline peerage in 1688. It must, however, have been purchased by them at an earlier period. On the 10th April 1682, Lord Tweeddale obtained liberty from the Magistrates to break ground for a quarry in the common; and on the 24th May 1683 they had a contract of excambion with John Earl of Tweeddale for upwards of twelve acres of land lying adjacent to his *park of Pinkie*.

The new possessors made various alterations on the property. Conceiving the main entrance to be too near the town of Musselburgh, they altogether changed the frontage of the house, striking out a new and wide door towards the north-east, with

an approach from the Links. The date, 1697, still remains above the door-way, although it is now filled up, and the original entrance restored. It is probable that the more southern and unfinished addition was made by this family, with the view of forming a quadrangle to the back. The square, in fact, is said to have been completed—perhaps temporarily, by a connecting wall.

Pinkie was acquired from the Tweeddale family by Sir Archibald Hope of Craighall in 1788. By purchasing some of the old houses of Musselburgh which pressed in upon the house, and obtaining the privilege from the town of running the park wall out upon the waste ground towards the street, he was enabled to enlarge his policy, and seclude the mansion more thoroughly from the town. This done, he built the present gateway at the east end of Musselburgh, took down the wall which formed the square, and restored the original front. He at the same time built a considerable addition, enlarging the entrance-hall below, and affording some good rooms above. The inscription of 1613 was by this means covered up; and we cannot help thinking that the unity of the old fabric has been greatly marred by this *eik*, which, jutting out beyond its proper place, mars the harmony of the whole.

Notwithstanding that much of the romance associated with Pinkie House has been destroyed by the facts we have adduced, still we cannot help regarding it as a place of peculiar interest, and, like Mitchell, we could often walk over its fine grounds, if not to muse on Nelly's charms, at least to think and ponder on the past.

The original barony of Pinkie* only contained about thirty

* It was sometimes called Pinckin in old documents. There is a contract between the monks of Dunfermline and the monks of Newbottle, in 1531, as to driving "the coill (coal) of Preston Grange to the bundis of Pinckin and Inueresk."

acres, but it has been greatly increased by purchases of land in recent times. The Sandy Haughs, for example, were acquired from the town by Sir Archibald Hope in 1778, and enclosed. So were the Saltpans at the west end of Fisherrow, July 1792, now called Pinkie Saltworks.

The foregoing are the principal houses, old or modern, on the east side of the Esk. When *Macfarlane* collected his topographical gleanings, he enumerated the houses of "Smeiton, Inveresk, town of Musselburgh and Pinkie, with a stone bridge of three bows—limiting himself apparently to such as were close upon the river side.

HOUSES ON THE WEST OF THE ESK.

"The houses upon the west side thereof," according to *Macfarlane*, "were Newtoun, Monktoun, Monktounhall, Stonichill, and the toun of Fisherrow."

Newton is not within the parish as its boundaries are now settled. *Monkton House* is situated at the southern verge of it. It is a modern mansion; but attached to it, as farm-offices, is an old structure, which, according to Dr Moir, tradition says was built by General Monk while in Scotland, and which was his favourite residence: hence the name of Monkton. This, however, is mere gossip. *Munketun* is mentioned in one of the early charters of the Abbey of Dunfermline, of the lands of Pontekyn, to "Willio filio Ingeram, filii Edmundi, filii Forn, et suis heredibus," &c. The name, as in other places, was no doubt derived from its being the residence of some of the clergy in Roman Catholic times. It is mentioned, together with Monktounhall, in the rental of Dunfermline in 1561, a century before General Monk's time.

Monktonhall is a cluster of houses, about a mile south of the

old bridge, on the road to Dalkeith. When the Scottish army lay encamped, at the Raid of Musselburgh, in 1547, a Parliament was convoked at Monktonhall, wherein it was enacted that the nearest heir of any person who should fall in the battle, if an ecclesiastic, should receive a gift of his benefice, and if a layman, have his ward, non-entresse, relief, and marriage, free. The village is pleasantly situated on the rising ground overlooking the Shirehaugh. A lane at the west end of Market-gate, southward, is called *Campie-lane*, from its having, we should suppose, led either to the old Roman or more modern Scottish encampment. Monktonhall belongs to the Earl of Wemyss.

STONYHILL,

a short distance south-west of the Old Bridge, is also the property of the Earl. "The last remains of the original mansion," says Dr Moir, "were taken down during 1838, and the materials exhibited every mark of a hoar antiquity. The wood work in the walls was literally reduced to must, and some curious stones were exposed which had been built in over one of the mantel-pieces. The present occupant, Mr Park, caused a large block then found, and which exhibits a striking petrifaction of the roots of a tree, to be placed for the sake of preservation in the garden wall, where it is now to be seen."

The earliest proprietor whom we find mentioned is *Jacobi Hammiltoun*, who had a charter of *Stanehill* from the Abbot of Dunfermline between 1555 and 1583. Next *Joanis Fairlie* had a charter of confirmation of *Stainehill*, 3d July 1598. *Richardi Dobie et Mariote Weir, sue sponse*, had a charter, "terrarum de *Staniehill*," dated 10th July 1600. *Richard* and *Robert Dobie* had a charter of Staniehill, 8th August 1609. In 1626 Robert Dobie, "hæres Domini Roberti Dobie de Stannyhill, militis, patris," was retoured in the lands of Stonyhill and

Monktonhall. On the 8th September 1647, *Robert Dobie* of *Stainyhill* won the silver arrow of Musselburgh for the third time. The same gentleman apparently had service of heirship of "sixteen oxgates of land in Monktonhall."

According to Dr Carlisle, Stonyhill was acquired from the Dobies by Sir William Sharpe, son of the Archbishop of St Andrews, who was murdered on Magus Muir on his way home from a visit to his son. In 1668, there is a disposition by Mr William Sharpe of Stonyhill, in favour of the Magistrates of Musselburgh, of a property near Newbigging, called *Hallis Wallis;* and in 1670 (25th August) there is a precept of sasine in his favour of the same property.

Nearer our own times, it belonged to the notorious Colonel Charteris. In the inventory of the town's papers, though the document itself has been lost, there is "a declaration and oblidgement by Col. Charteris's factor, concerning the settling the marches betwixt the lands of Stonyhill, on the one side, where a bridge is built on the Col.'s expenses, and the community of Musselburgh, on the other," dated 13th December 1728. The Colonel was a gambler and libertine of the most unblushing character. He was tried at the Old Bailey, London, on the 25th February 1730, for deforcement of one of his servant girls, and condemned to be executed. His friends interfering, the King pardoned him upon his settling a handsome annuity on his victim. He found it necessary, however, to retire from the public, and lived chiefly at Stonyhill, where, it is said, he indulged in all licentiousness till his death in 1732. Notwithstanding his gallantries, he was miserly in his disposition, and acquired a princely fortune, chiefly by gambling. Dr Pitcairn wrote a severe epitaph upon him.

At the death of Colonel Charteris, says Dr Moir, "it is traditionally recorded here, that the populace assembled in the avenue down which the funeral procession of that wretched person had

to pass, and bespattered the hearse with filth and garbage." The avenue, though interrupted by the railway, is still spacious, and exhibits some fine old trees.

"The existing mansion-house of Stonyhill," continues Dr Moir, "appears to have been originally the offices of the ancient villa;* and behind it are the garden and orchard, enclosed by a gigantic buttressed wall, apparently of great age. A mulberry tree in one of the walks may well have been coeval with that of Shakspeare."

Colonel Francis Charteris of Amisfield and Gosford—an old family in Haddingtonshire—married a daughter of Sir Alexander Swinton, and had an only daughter, Janet, married, in 1720, to James, fourth Earl of Wemyss, whose second son assumed the name of Charteris, and inherited the maternal estates. In this way the properties of Stonyhill and Monktonhall came into the Wemyss family.

"The gardens of Stonyhill and Monktonhall," says Dr Moir, "appear to have been among the earliest in this part of the island; and entries in the household books of Dalkeith Palace shew that vegetables and fruits were procured from the latter upwards of two centuries ago."

There is a curious entry in Arnot's "Criminal Trials" on the breaking of gardens:—"John Rait and Alexander Dean were indicted at the instance of his Majesty's Advocate for breaking into the gardens of Barnton, Pilton, Banbrugh, Greycrook, Craigiehall, and Carlowrie, and stealing thence herbs, artichoke plants, *sybous*—*i. e.*, young onions—and bee-hives. They had formerly been convicted before an inferior judicature for breaking gardens in the neighbourhood of Musselburgh; and by warrant of the Privy Council they were sentenced to be taken to the Burgh Muir of Edinburgh and there hanged, 1623."

* Since the Doctor wrote a new house has been built near the old site.

A small field at the end of the avenue to Stonyhill, called "The Bogle's Hole," was used for the incremation of witches. This is probably what is called "The Terror's Croft" in the rent-roll of the Abbey of Dunfermline in 1561.

In 1661 there was a commission, dated Edinburgh, 22d May, "for burneing some witches in Mussilburgh;" and on the 28th following "a commission past for tryeing and judgeing some witches in Mussilburgh and Prestoun." Again—"Edr. 25th June 1661.—Mr George McKenzie and Mr John Cuninghame haveing, in presence of the Parliament, given the oath of alledgiance and de fideli administratione, wer admitted justice deputs, and Mr Alexr. Colvine and they ordained to repair once in the week at least to Musselburgh and Dalkeith, and to try and judge such persones as ar ther or therabouts dilate of witchcraft."

In Pitcairn's "Criminal Trials" there are several cases of witches having been "wirreit" and "burnt in assis" at Dalkeith, Prestonpans, Newbottle, and Longniddry, but none at Musselburgh.

During the Protectorate, it appears several commissions were appointed for the trial of witches in Scotland, but they either were not reported, or the records have been lost or destroyed. As we have elsewhere shown, the courts of justice instituted under Cromwell still continued in 1661; hence the proceedings of the above commissions may not have been recorded in the "Books of Adjournal." The volume, however, for the early portion of 1661 is awanting; but in that which follows we have a report of the "Court of Justiciary" held at Musselburgh on the 29th day of July 1661. On this occasion "compeired Mr John Prestoune, bailly of the regality of Musselburgh ffor the Earle of Lauderdale, and desyred to be admitted to sitt with the Justice depute in the tryall of the persones following, indwellars within the regality foirsd., whilk desyre the Justice granted."

The unhappy individuals put upon trial were—

David Johnstoune.
Agnes Loch, spouse to Pattrick Robertsoune in Sunnysyd.
Margaret Ramage.
Janet Lyle, in Edmistoune.
Janet Dale, spouse to George Bell, Colzear.

They were "indyted and accused for the crymes of sorcerie and witchcraft, in maner specd. in ye dittayes."

The "*persewer* was Mr Robert Dalglish for his Majestie's Advocat."

The "dittayes" were of considerable length, and couched in the usual style of the period. The charges were of a general nature; and what seems astonishing to us at the present day, the culprits admitted their guilt. "The whilk pannall above written," says the record, "efter reading of their severall dittayes to them in judgment, confesses and acknowledges the same to be of verity, whairupone the persewar, for his Majestie's Advocat, desired instruments."

The assize, or jury, consisting of fifteen, were as follows:—

Williame Thomsone, burges of Musselburgh.
Wm. Leslie, burges thair.
Thomas Baillie in Edmistoune.
David Ros, burges in Musselburgh.
Patrick Cars, in Sunnysyde.
Adam Greenlaw, burges in Mussilburgh.
Patrick Carfra, burges thair.
David Alex^{r}., in Fisherraw.
Baillie Clerk, in Mussilburgh.
John Hill, in Edmistoune.
Robert Robiesone, in Brunstonmylne.
Thomas Hog, in Mussilburgh.
Johne Meikle, in Bridgend.
Oliver Calderwood, in Mussilburgh.
Wm. Ramage, indwellar thair.

The *pannall* were, in terms of their own confession, found guilty. "Convict and brunt," is the brief but expressive language of the record.

This would seem to have been the last of the witch cases at Musselburgh. Several trials afterwards occurred at Dalkeith and other places, but a milder regimen was beginning to prevail, and the trials were often delayed and the parties acquitted.

New Hailes, the park wall of which bounds the highway entering Fisherrow from the west, was built by Sir James Dalrymple, a branch of the Stair family. He was desirous of feuing the common myre of Fisherrow, in 1729, with the view of enclosing it as a park, but the magistrates did not consent till 1743. It was, says Dr Carlisle, "one of the first houses whose park was laid out and adorned with all the elegance of modern taste." New Hailes is interesting to the literary world as the residence of Sir David Dalrymple, Lord Hailes, the distinguished historiographer and antiquary. His library is still preserved at New Hailes. In the immediate vicinity of the house, there is a columnar monument to the great Earl of Stair. A minute of the Town Council bears that, on the 23d April 1753, before Sir David was raised to the bench, he was appointed assessor for Musselburgh, with a salary of ten pounds a-year—Sir David giving the first year's salary as a donation to help to defray the extraordinary expenses of the Poor's House.

Cousland Castle was in Cranstoun parish, yet there is a small village called Cousland a short way above Inveresk. It is marked in the rude diagram of Patten's field of Pinkie. In 1557, Robert Lumisdane had an "assedatioun of ye half landis of Cousland." Cousland, indeed, is mentioned so far back as the charter of David I., confirming the gift of Malcolm Caenmore to the Abbey of Dunfermline, in 1163:—"Inuiresc cum omnibus pertinenciis suis, et ecclesiam ejusdem ville cum capella de *Cousland*."

THE BATTLE OF PINKIE.

The battle of Pinkie, or Fawside, as it is sometimes called, is a well-known historical event; and yet it has been passed over by most of our historians in a very cursory manner. Tytler is almost the only one who does anything like justice to it. The Scots gave it the name of the "Black Saturday," from the loss sustained, and its being fought on Saturday, the 10th of September 1547.

The policy of Henry VIII. was to procure the subjection of Scotland by the union of the Prince of Wales with the young Queen (Mary). Many of the Scottish nobles, such as Glencairn, Cassillis, and Angus, were favourable to the proposal—and Tytler affirms that such was the disaffection amongst the Scots that 200 noblemen and gentlemen had signed the bond of allegiance to England. The advancement of the reformed religion was assigned as the cause of this ignoble bond—but it is generally understood that dislike to the Governor, Arran, and the love of English gold, were the chief stimulants. Arran, the first Duke of Chatelherault, was perhaps well-meaning, and in some respects a person of talent; but he had his weaknesses, and as governor, was unequal to the difficult task he had assumed.

The Duke of Somerset became Protector of England after the death of the King, and followed out the precise line of policy dictated by his late royal master. Arran and the national party were opposed to the English project. Somerset at length resolved to enforce the marriage-proposal by an appeal to arms, and marched into Scotland at the head of a chosen band of "fourteen thousand two hundred men, of which four thousand were men-at-arms and demi-lances, two thousand light horse, and two hundred Spanish carabineers mounted. The remaining eight

thousand were footmen and pioneers. This force was divided into three principal battles. The vanward was led by Dudley, Earl of Warwick, afterwards the noted Duke of Northumberland, a captain of great experience and resolution, who had been bred to arms in the French wars of Henry the Eighth; the main battle by the Protector in person; and the rear by Lord Dacre of the North, a veteran who still possessed all the fire and vivacity of youth. Each battle was strengthened by wings of horse, consisting of men-at-arms, demi-lances, hagbutters, and some pieces of artillery, 'every piece having its guard of pioneers to clear the way.' Lord Grey of Wilton, high marshal of the army, commanded the cavalry, having under him Sir Francis Bryan, Sir Peter Mewtas, Sir Francis Fleming, master of the ordnance, and Don Pedro de Gamboa, who conducted a fine body of mounted Spanish carabineers."*

Somerset entered Scotland with this force, proceeding coastwise, accompanied by thirty-four ships of war, and thirty transports. He met with no opposition till he came to Musselburgh, within sight of which he encamped, on learning that the Scots were in great force on the opposite banks of the Esk.

Notwithstanding the distracted state of Scotland, and the irreconcilable division of parties arising out of the Reformation, Arran succeeded, by means of the fiery cross—a warlike symbol held in peculiar veneration—in assembling an army of thirty-six thousand men. This large body occupied a strong position on the west side of the river Esk, extending from the old bridge along the rising ground to Monktonhall village, where the *Shirehaugh* morass† thoroughly protected the right wing of the en-

* Tytler's History of Scotland.

† This morass is now fine holm land. Formerly the river flowed much nearer Monktonhall, leaving the greater portion of the morass on the Inveresk side of the river.

campment southwards. In front flowed the Esk, which, though not deep, was thickly margined with wood. To the north lay the Frith, protecting their left, which was also strengthened by cannon commanding the bridge. Cannon were also planted at the Church of St Michael's, in front of the position on the side east of the river. In the print of the time, already mentioned, a good idea is afforded of the position of both armies, and their movements on the day of battle. The tents of the Scottish army were planted in regular rows from the Bridgend upwards along the slope.

Somerset encamped near Prestonpans, about three miles distant. His right, resting on Drummore and Walliford, was protected by the Frith, and on his left rose the hill of Fawside, with its castle overtopping the summit. Along the face of this ridge lay the several divisions of the invading army.

Though the Scottish army was numerically strong, and the troops of the best material, still it was in reality weak compared with the well-equipped array of England. It was deficient in cavalry, hagbutters, and ordnance. It was also deficient in experience and discipline, scarcely one of the leaders, and none of the men, having seen service anywhere save in the feuds and border raids of their own country. Even their position showed a want of military skill, for although strong according to the old practice of war, it was not judiciously chosen, considering that cannon now formed an important arm in military operations. The hill of Inveresk, where, after displacing the few guns of the Scots placed at the church, the enemy could easily have planted their ordnance, completely commanded the Scottish camp. Still it is believed that had the Scots kept their ground, the English would have been compelled to retreat.

There was an evident want of generalship even at the outset. On the 9th of September—the morning after the English had

encamped—Lord Hume, at the head of fifteen hundred light horse, approached, by fording the river, from the right of the Scottish camp, along the rising ground at the base of Fawside hill, while five hundred foot lay in a sort of ambush. They galloped up to the English cavalry, shaking their lances by way of menace. Somerset, believing that so small and bold a body of prickers must be supported by the army at large, gave orders for his troops to remain steady. Lord Grey, however, taunted by the challenge of Hume's light horsemen, obtained permission to "try the effect of a charge. Accordingly, as soon as they came, 'scattered on the spur,' within a stonecast of the English, and after their usual shouting, were beginning to wheel about, Grey, with his demi-lances, and a thousand men-at-arms, charged them at full speed, upon which they faced about and firmly received his onset. The weight of the men-at-arms, however, and their barbed steeds, was an overmatch for the slight, though hardy hackneys of the borderers; and, after maintaining the conflict for three hours, they were entirely broken, and the greater part of them cut to pieces. The chase continued for three miles, from Fawside hill to the right wing of their army, which lay to the south. In this unfortunate affair thirteen hundred men were slain within sight of their camp, Lord Hume was severely wounded, his son the Master of Hume taken prisoner, and the whole body of the Scottish cavalry nearly destroyed, a loss seriously felt in the next day's battle." *

Though the border troopers displayed great gallantry under the circumstances, the affair was altogether most injudicious and unaccountable in military tactics. If it had really been intended to attack the English army, it was fool-hardiness to assail so large and superior a body of cavalry, unless supported, as Somerset imagined, with a powerful division, so as to promote a general

* Tytler.

engagement and disconcert the enemy. If intended merely as a feint, to draw a body of the English cavalry into an ambush, Hume ought not to have withstood the charge, but retreated with his light troops until supported by the body of concealed footmen.

"After this success the Protector, accompanied by a small party, descended from Faside hill, by a lane which led directly north, to the Church of Inveresk. His object was to examine the position occupied by the Scots, and he was enabled to do so effectually, as the course he took was almost parallel to their camp, which he could see distinctly. . . . . It was evident to the English commander, upon a slight inspection, that if they chose to keep their position, it would be impossible to attack them with advantage, or bring them to a battle. Somerset, however, did not fail to observe that their camp was partially commanded by the hill of Inveresk, and by the higher parts of the lane which led from Faside hill; and having resolvedto occupy these places with his ordnance, with the object of forcing them to dislodge from their strong ground, he rode back to his own camp.

"On the road he was overtaken by a Scottish herald, with his tabard on, accompanied by a trumpeter, who brought a message from the Governor. The herald said his first errand was for an exchange of prisoners; his second to declare, that his master, eager to avoid the effusion of Christian blood, was willing to allow him to retreat without molestation, and upon honourable conditions. The trumpeter next addressed the Duke, informing him that, in case such terms were not accepted, his master, the Earl of Huntly, willing to bring the quarrel to a speedy conclusion, was ready to encounter him, twenty to twenty, ten to ten, or, if he would so far honour him, man to man. To these messages Somerset made a brief and temperate reply. He declared, turning to the herald, that his coming into Scotland had been at the first to seek peace, and to obtain such terms as should be for the good of either realm. His quarrel, he added, was just; he trusted, therefore, God would prosper it; and since the Governor had already rejected such conditions as would never again be proffered, he must look now to its being decided by arms; 'and

as for thy master,' said he, addressing the trumpeter, 'he lacketh some discretion to send his challenge to one, who, by reason of the weighty charge he bears (no less than the government of a King's person and the protection of his realm), hath no power to accept it; whilst there are yet many noble gentlemen here, his equals in rank, to whom he might have addressed his cartel, without fear of a refusal.' At this moment the Earl of Warwick broke eagerly in, telling the messenger that he would not only accept the challenge, but would give him a hundred crowns if he brought back his master's consent. 'Nay,' said Somerset, 'Huntly is not equal in rank to your Lordship: but, herald, tell the Governor, and the Earl of Huntly also, that we have now spent some time in your country: our force is but a small company—yours far exceeds us; yet bring me word they will meet us in a plain field, and thou shalt have a thousand crowns for thy pains, and thy masters fighting enough.'

"The herald and his companion were then dismissed, and the Protector pursued his way to the camp, where, after a consultation with his officers, it was thought proper, notwithstanding the challenge so lately given, to make a final effort to avert hostilities. A letter was accordingly addressed to the Governor, in which Somerset declared his readiness to retreat from the kingdom on the single condition that the Scots would consent to keep their youthful Queen in her own country, unfettered by any agreement with the French Government, until she reached a marriageable age, and was able to say for herself, whether she would abide by the matrimonial treaty with England. Had such moderate and equitable proposals been made previous to the declaration of hostilities, they would probably have been accepted; but coming at so questionable a moment, they appeared to the Governor to be dictated rather by a conviction in the Protector, that he could no longer support his army in an enemy's country, than by any real love of peace. On showing the letter to Hamilton, Archbishop of St Andrew's, who was much in his confidence, he expressed the same opinion; and it was agreed to suppress the communication entirely, whilst a report was spread that an insulting, instead of a conciliatory message had been transmitted, requiring the Scots to deliver up their Queen, and submit themselves to the mercy of their enemy."

The English, though encouraged by the disaster of Hume and his light troopers, and possessing a superiority in everything save numbers, were under considerable dread of the Scots at this time. They had recently suffered at Ancrum Muir, and only the year before, Sir Ralph Eure and his company had been cut to pieces by the Earl of Angus at Panierhaugh, and though the Protector was well aware that most of the Protestant lords were favourable to his policy, still he could not altogether rely upon their support. Mr William Patten, of London, who was an eye witness, and the principal historian of the battle of Pinkie, is most prolix in his description, and laudatory of the Protector and the other leaders. The victory was so unexpected and gratifying that he evidently could not make enough of it. And certainly there was much room for glorification, for never was a field so lost through mismanagement. But to resume the narrative of Tytler.

"Such being the result of this last attempt, nothing was left to either party but an appeal to arms; and early on the morning of the 10th of September the Duke of Somerset broke up his camp, and gave orders for the army to advance towards the hill of Inveresk, his design being to encamp near that spot, and to plant his ordnance on the eminence commanding the Scottish position." He was supported by his war ships, the largest of which had anchored as close as possible to the shore of Musselburgh. "This movement was no sooner perceived by the Scottish Governor, than he embraced the extravagant idea that the Protector had commenced his retreat towards his fleet, which had removed two days before from Leith, and now lay in Musselburgh bay, with the design of embarking his army. He instantly resolved to anticipate him, by throwing himself between the English and their ships; and disregarding the advice of his best officers, who earnestly recommended him to keep his strong position till at least the demonstration of the enemy became more definite, he gave orders for the whole army to dislodge and pass the river. Angus, who led the vanward, deeming it madness

to throw away their advantage, refused to obey; but being charged on pain of treason to pass forward, he forded the river, and was followed, although after some delay, by the Governor, who led the main battle, and the Earl of Huntly with his northland men, who formed the rear.* The advance mustered ten thousand strong, embracing the strength of Fife, Mearns, Angus, and the west country; it was flanked on the right by some pieces of artillery drawn by men, and on the left by four hundred light horse; it included also a large body of priests and monks, who marched under a white banner, on which was painted a female kneeling before a crucifix, her hair dishevelled, and embroidered underneath the motto, 'Afflictæ Ecclesiæ ne obliviscaris!'

"In the main battle was the power of Lothian, Fife,† Strathern, Stirlingshire, and the great body of the barons of Scotland, having on the right wing the Earl of Argyle, with four thousand West Highlanders, and on the left the Islemen, with Macleod, Macgregor, and other chieftains.‡ It was defended also on both flanks by some pieces of artillery, as was likewise the rear, but the guns were clumsily worked, and seem to have done little execution. . . . . .

"This movement of the Scots, in abandoning their advantage and crossing the river, was viewed with equal astonishment and pleasure by the English commander. He had dislodged from his camp, and commenced his march at eight in the morning; and before he was half way to Inveresk, the enemy, having surmounted the hill, were seen advancing towards the English. Somerset and the Earl of Warwick, who happened to be riding

* It is the opinion of Dr Moir and other local writers that the Scottish army crossed by the bridge, and that the Master of Grahame and others were killed in doing so by a cannon-ball from the English galleys in the Frith. It is probable that a division may have taken advantage of the bridge, but the great body crossed the Esk at different places; and Patten says that it was while the army halted for a while at the hillocks that the Master of Grahame was killed.

† Tytler must be mistaken. The strength of Fife could not be in both the first and second divisions.

‡ Pitscottie by Dalyell, vol. ii., p. 496.

together at this moment, instantly perceived their advantage, thanked God for the fortunate event, ordered forward their artillery, and taking a joyful leave of each other, proceeded to their respective charges—the Earl to the vanward and the Duke to the main battle, where was the King's standard. Warwick immediately arranged his division upon the side of the hill; the Protector formed his battle chiefly on the hill, but his extreme right rested on the plain; the rear, under Lord Dacre, was drawn up wholly on the plain; whilst Lord Grey, with the men-at-arms and the mounted carabineers, were stationed at some distance on the entrance left. His orders were to take the enemy in flank, yet he was strictly interdicted from making any attack till the foot of the vanward were engaged with the enemy, and the main battle was near at hand for his support. By the time these arrangements were completed the Scots were considerably advanced, their object being to throw themselves betwixt the English and their fleet; but in accomplishing this the wing of their rearward, which moved nearest to the Frith, found themselves exposed to the fire of one of the English galleys, which galled them severely, slew the Master of Graham, with some others who were beside him, and threw Argyle's Highlanders into disorder.* Checked in this manner, their army fell back from the ground which was thus exposed, and declining to the southward, took a direct line towards the west end of Faside hill. Their object was to win this side of the hill, and, availing themselves of the advantage, to attack the enemy from the higher ground; but as soon as the Protector perceived this movement, he commanded Lord Grey and Sir Ralph Vane, with the veteran bands of the men-at-arms, called Bulleners [from their having been employed as the garrison at Boulogne], and the demi-lances under Lord Fitzwaters, to charge the right wing of the Scots, and, if they could not break it, at least to keep it in check till their own vanward might advance further on the hill, and their centre and rear coming up, form a full front against the enemy. This manœuvre, although aware of its perilous nature, was exe-

* This fact is stated both in the English and Scottish accounts of the battle; but in walking over the field I found it extremely difficult to account for it.—*Tytler*.

cuted by Lord Grey with the utmost readiness and gallantry. Observing the Scottish infantry advancing at so round a pace that many deemed them to be rather cavalry than foot, he waited for a short space till Lord Warwick was pretty well up with the enemy, and then, commanding the trumpets to sound, charged down the hill at full gallop, right against the left wing of Angus's division. The shock at first was dreadful; but the superiority of infantry over cavalry was soon evinced. The Scottish foot were armed with spears eighteen feet in length, far exceeding that of the lances of the men-at-arms, and they knew well how to avail themselves of this advantage. Angus, on observing the intention of the English, had commanded his men to form in that formidable order which had often effectually resisted the chivalry of England. Nothing could be more simple, but nothing more effective: the soldiers closed inwards, so near as to appear locked together shoulder to shoulder; the first line stooped low, and almost knelt, placing the butt-end of their pike against the right foot, grasping it firmly with both hands, and inclining its steel point breast-high against the enemy; the second rank crossed their pikes over their shoulders; the third assumed the same position, and so on to whatever depth the column might be, giving it the appearance of a gigantic hedgehog, covered with an impenetrable skin of steel bristles. Against such a body, if the men stood firm, the finest cavalry in the world could not make any serious impression. It happened also that a broad, muddy ditch, or slough, lay between the English and the Scottish foot, into which the horses plunged up to the counter, and with great difficulty cleared it. Yet, undismayed by these adverse circumstances, Lord Grey, heading his men-at-arms, struggled through, and with his front companies charged full upon the enemy's left. No human force, however, could break the wall against which he had thrown himself; and in an incredibly short space of time two hundred saddles were emptied, the horses being stabbed in the belly with the spears, and the riders who had fallen speedily dispatched by the *whingers*, or short double-edged daggers, which the Scots carried at their girdle. Such was the fate of Shelly, Ratcliff, Clarence, Preston, and other brave and veteran commanders of the Bulleners. Flammock, who carried the English standard, saved the colours,

but left the staff in the hands of the enemy. Lord Grey himself was dangerously hurt in the mouth and neck."

"Shrilly arises Warwick's battle-cry,
As from Falsyde his glittering columns wheel;
Hark to the rasp of Grey's fierce cavalry
Against the bristling hedge of Scotland's steel!
As bursts the billow foaming on the rock,
That onset is repelled, that charge is met,
Flaunting, the banner'd thistle braves the shock,
And backward bears the might of Somerset."

Patten, in describing this charge, is lugubriously minute:—"Herewith waxt it very hot on both sydes, with piteful cryes, horrible rore and terrible thunderinge of gunnes besyde, the day darkened abooue hed with smoke of shot, ye sight and apparaunce of the enemye euen at hand before, the daunger of death on euery syde els, the bullettes, pellettes and arrowes fliyng each whear so thik, and so vncerteinly lightynge, that no whear was thear ony suerty of safety, euery man strooken with a dreadfull fear, not soo muche perchaunce of death as of hurt, which thinges, though they wear but certeyn to sum, yet douted of all, assured crueltie at the enemies handes without hope of mercy, death to flye and daunger to fyght. The hole face of the felde on bothe sydes vpon this point of ioining, both to the eye and to the ear, so heauy, so deadly, lamentable, furious, outragious, terribly confuse, and so quite against ye quiet nature of man." Honest Patten, it is evident, had experienced but little of the horrors of war.

But to continue the narrative from Tytler:—

"Many horses, furious from their wounds, and plunging in their agony, carried disorder into their own companies; and such was soon the inextricable confusion into which the whole body of the men-at-arms was thrown, that a portion of them, breaking away, fled through the ranks of their own division, whilst Lord

Grey had the greatest difficulty in extricating the rest, and retreating up the hill with their shattered and wounded remains. At this critical moment, had Angus been supported by the rest of the army, or had the Scots possessed any body of men-at-arms, who, by a charge, might have improved their advantage, the English would in all probability have been undone. But the cavalry had been nearly cut to pieces in the action of the day before, and the centre and rear under the Governor and Huntly were still at a considerable distance; the vanward, therefore, unable to pursue the fugitives, and not choosing to advance against the main body of the enemy till certain of support, halted for a brief space. The opportunity was thus lost, and the Earl of Warwick, aware of the infinite value of a few minutes gained at such a juncture, galloped through the wavering ranks of the advance, re-established their order, disengaged the men-at-arms from the infantry, and rallying them, with the assistance of Sir Ralph Sadler, pushed forward the company of the Spanish carabineers. These fine troops, armed both men and horse in complete mail, galloped up to the brink of the broad ditch, and, coming within half-musket range, discharged their pieces full in the faces of the Scottish infantry. This attack was seconded by Sir Peter Mewtas, who brought up his foot hagbutters: the archers now moving rapidly forward, discharged a flight of arrows, and at the same moment the artillery, which had been judiciously placed on the hill, were made to bear upon Angus's division, who, dreading the effect of so complicated an attack, began to fall back, though in good order, to the main battle. At this instant the Highlanders, who, unable to resist their plundering propensities, were dispersed over the field stripping the slain, mistook this retrograde movement for a flight, and, seized with a sudden panic, began to run off in all directions. Their terror communicated itself to the burgh troops; these formed a main portion of the centre, and, starting from their ranks, although still a quarter of a mile distant from the enemy, they threw away their weapons and followed the Highlanders. * In the midst of this shameful

* In the engraving of the battle formerly referred to, the flight of the Highlanders is seen at the rear of the first division, and the breaking away of the troops from the second. In reference to the Highlanders, Patten

confusion, the Governor, instead of exerting himself to rally the fugitives, shouted treason, a cry which only increased the disorder. The Earl of Warwick meanwhile was coming fast forward, the horsemen once more showed themselves ready to charge, and the English centre and rear hastened on at an accelerated pace. Had the Scottish vanward been certain that support was near at hand, they might, even alone, have withstood this formidable attack; but, deserted by the rest of the army, they did not choose to sacrifice themselves; and the body which so lately had opposed an impenetrable front to the enemy, beginning first to undulate to and fro, like a steely sea agitated by the wind, after a few moments was seen breaking into a thousand fragments and dispersing in all directions. Everything was now lost: the ground over which the flight lay was as thickly strewed with pikes as a floor with rushes; helmets, bucklers, swords, daggers, and steel caps, lay scattered on every side, cast away by their owners as impeding their speed, and the chase, beginning at one o'clock, continued till six in the evening with extraordinary slaughter. The English demi-lances and men-at-arms, irritated by their late defeat, hastened after the fugitives with a speed heightened by revenge, and passing across the field of their late action, were doubly exasperated by seeing the bodies of their brave companions, stript by the Highlanders, lying all naked and mangled before their eyes. Crying to one another to remember Panierhaugh, they spurred at the top of their speed after the fugitives, cutting them down on all sides, and admitting none to quarter but those from whom they hoped for a heavy ransom. The Scots fled in three several ways, some straight upon Edinburgh, some along the coast to Leith, but the most part towards Dalkeith, with the object of throwing the morass, which had defended the right of their camp, between them and their pursuers. Yet this proved so ineffectual a security, that before the chase was ended fourteen thousand were slain, the river running

says—"Our galley shot of and slewe the master of Greym with a five and twenty nere by him, and thearwith so skarred the iiii thousand *Irish* archers brought by the Erle of Arguile, that whear (as it was sayd) they shoulde have bene a wyng to the forewarde, thei coold neuer after be made to cum forwarde."

red with blood, and the ground for five miles in distance and four in breadth being covered, says an eye-witness, as thick with dead bodies as cattle in a well-stocked pasture field. It was recorded that in Edinburgh alone this day's battle made three hundred and sixty widows. Little pity was shown to the priests, multitudes of whom were slain, and found mingled amongst the dead bodies of the common soldiers, whilst their sacred banner lay trampled under foot and soiled with blood.

"The evening was now advancing to night, the pursuit had lasted for five hours, and the Protector causing a retreat to be sounded, the army mustered again on the ridge of Edmonstone Edge, beside the Scottish tents, where, joyous of their victory, they gave a loud shout, which, as they afterwards were told, was so shrill and piercing, that it was heard in the streets of the capital."

The English afterwards encamped at Edgbuckling Brae for the night.

The victory was no doubt as welcome as it was unexpected, and the transition from a state of fear to one of security was well calculated to produce an excitement of joy. Had Arran displayed the most ordinary capacity, the English would have been compelled to retire as they came. If, as he was certain, that there was a strong party in the country opposed to him and the Queen-Mother, and who, in fact, had pledged themselves to the English policy, he should never have moved from his encampment; but even in the field the blunder might have been remedied had he shown the slightest military talent, or the common attribute of firmness. With the exception of the loss of Hume's troopers on the previous day, almost the entire slaughter was sustained by the unarmed soldiers after the flight had commenced. The scene of the battle lay between Faside and Inveresk, near to the marsh (*Howmire*) in which Pinkie burn has its source. It is now a well cultivated country, suitable for the action of cavalry, but at that time drainage was not what it is now, and various spongy places

existed to mar the action of troops. Angus's division was prevented from forming so compactly as it might have done, in consequence of a square turf enclosure, and the old-fashioned ridges were equally against steady movement. "In the centre of a circle of trees, at the eastern extremity of the grounds of Eskgrove, and opposite to Pinkie Burn, a square pillar, surmounted by an antique stone representing a fleur-de-lis, marks the spot where the royal tent was pitched on the eve of the battle, and bears the following inscription :—

"THE PROTECTOR, DUKE OF SOMERSET,
ENCAMPED HERE, 10TH SEPTEMBER,
1547.

"Sated with blood, and glad his prey to leave,
Five hours in hot pursuit and carnage spent,
In yon green clump, by Inveresk, at eve,
Proud Somerset, the victor, pitched his tent
There, 'mid its circle grey of mossy stone,
A time-worn fleur-de-lis still marks the spot,
Which else had to the searcher been unknown :
For of that field one other trace is not."

The pillar was erected by the late Lord Eskgrove." *

It is said that the slaughter was greatest on the margin of the *Howmire*, in the centre of the battle-field, and that the burn of Pinkie was in consequence tinged with blood for three days—thus realising the prophecy attributed to Thomas the Rhymer :—

"At Pinken Clugh there shall be spilt
Much gentle blood that day ;
There shall the bear lose the guilt,
And the eagle bear it away."

There is another rhyme popularly referred to the same event—

* Note to *Delta's* poems.

"Between Seton and the sea,
Mony a man shall die that day."

This couplet is quoted in Patten's account of Somerset's invasion.

Patten mentions that the slain of the English of the better class who could be recognized were buried on Sabbath, the day after the battle. In 1823, when the new road to London was formed, numerous ranges of skeletons were excavated at the eastern shoulder of Edgebuckling Brae.* They were enclosed in stone coffins, about four feet below the surface, and were no doubt the bodies of Englishmen slain at Pinkie. In Westminster Abbey a superb monument is erected to the memory of one of the Thynne family, an ancestor of the Marquis of Bath, who was amongst the slain. His body was carried home to England. Recently, on baring a quarry in the same vicinity, a number of skeletons were found.

In 1838, similar ranges of stone coffins were discovered in trenching a field at New Farm, above Smeaton. The bones which they contained were in good preservation. In 1833, when levelling a bank at Pinkie-burn, immediately east of the streamlet, great quantities of bones, chiefly of horses, were found imbedded in the soil. The *Howmire*, the principal scene of the conflict, is in the immediate neighbourhood, and it is believed the Scottish cavalry had retreated down the precipitous banks of the streamlet, where they were overtaken and cut to pieces.

One of the biographers of Sir William Cecil, afterwards the famous Lord Burleigh, states that he was present with his patron, the Protector, at the battle of Pinkie, and that he "was

* Edgebuckling Brae, where now stands Pinkie Mains, is about half a mile from the eastern boundary of the parish. It is the limit to the east, which commanded the personal service of the Archer Guard of the Scottish Kings, as Cramond Bridge was upon the west.

only saved from inevitable destruction by the generous interposition of a friend, who pushed him out of the level of a cannon, and had his own arm shattered by the ball, which must otherwise have passed through Cecil's body."

CARBERRY HILL.

According to Chalmers, the name of this place is traceable to the British *Caerbairin*. It is celebrated for the surrender of Queen Mary to the associated Lords on the 15th June 1567. The circumstance is a well-known episode in Scottish history. It arose out of the murder of Darnley, and her marriage with Bothwell, who had previously been created Duke of Orkney. *Birrel*, in his *Diary*, relates the facts with much brevity:—

"The 15 of Maii, the Queine wes maried to the Duck of Orkney, in the chappel royall of Holyrudhus, by Adam Bothuel, Abbote of Holyrudhous; and hes text wes ye 2d of Genesis.

"The 11 day of Junii, the Queine being in Borthuick castell, upone ye suddaine, certaine of ye nobility besett the castell round about in armes, verey well provydit. The principal of these wer, the Earles of Athole, Glencairne, Mortone, Mar, with Lordis of Home, Lindesay, Semple, Ruthuen, Sanquhair. The chieffe of the small barrons and gentlemen yat accompanied them, wer, Tullibairdin, Drumlanricke, Cessfurd, Drumquhaill, Coldinknowes, Lochleuin, Ker of Saldomesyde, Grange, and the tutor of Pitteur, with diverse uthers. They desyred ye Earll Bothuell might be delivered to them; but the Lord Borthuick ansuered, that he wes fled to Dumbar. Therafter, they desyred the Queine to come and assist them in persute of her husband's murther, and she altogether refusit.

"This same 11 day of June, ye said Lordis, vith ther assistants, came to Edinburghe, being Thursday, at four houres in ye afternoon, quher ther wes proclamations at the crosse, yat all trew subjects vuld assist to persew the murther of ye King.

"The 12 day of Junii, ye Queine and Duck rode to Dumbar, and sent proclamations throughe ye countrey, to raise in feare of

weir, to assist her against these quho ver to persew her, and her husband ye Duck of Orkney.

"The 14 day, the Queine came to Settone, vith 4 companies of shouldiours, and sundrey Earlls, Lords, and Barrons. The Lords in Edinburghe haveand intelligence therof, strake the alarum incontinent, and from thence marched to Restalrigg Links, quher they rested till ye next morning.

"The 15 day, being Sonneday, the armies came vithin view. The one stood upone Carberry Hills, with 4 regiments of shouldiours, and sex feild-peices of brasse: the uther armey stoode over against it, messingers going betwixt them all day till neir night; dureing which parley, the Duck fled secretly to Dumbar, and the Queine came and randred herself prisoner to ye Lordis, quho convoyed her to Edinburghe to the Provost's lodgeing for yat night; Sr Symeon Prestone of Craigmillar being Provost for ye time."

The place of surrender, on the face of the rising ground, above Carberry Tower, is marked by a little circular mound, planted with trees, in the middle of a cultivated field. This copsewood was formed by John Fullerton, Esq., who was proprietor of Carberry in 1793. Farther up, on the ridge of the hill, in a wood, there formerly existed a small pillar, where it is said the Queen and her adherents held counsel during the day. She occupied a seat slightly elevated, by way of a throne. Such crowds of visitors were in the habit of repairing thither, and trespassing the grounds, that the late Colonel Elphinstone, the proprietor, caused it to be taken down.

MONUMENTAL INSCRIPTIONS IN THE CHURCHYARD OF INVERESK.

1. Sacred to the memory of Captain PETER BURNET, late of the 14th Regiment of Foot, who died the 5th Feb. 1809, aged 82. Mrs BURNET died the 18th Jan. 1811, aged 82 years.

2. In memory of JOHN SKEILL, who died 25th Oct. 1790, aged 43 years. Also in memory of HELEN HUNTER, who died 6th Feb. 1816, aged 50 years. Also their son, Captain DAVID SKEILL, of the Rifle Brigade, who died here 11th June 1824, aged 40 years.

3. To the memory of ELIZABETH CRAIG, wife of Robert Legat of Esk Park. Born 24th May 1793 ; died 4th Aug. 1850.

4. Sacred to the memory of JOHN JOHNSTONE, Esq., Barrack-Master, Musselburgh, son of James Johnstone, Esq. of Granton, near Moffat, who died 25th Oct. 1808, and ANNE M'MURDO, his wife, who died 15th May 1821. Also their daughters, ANNE JOHNSTONE, deceased 27th December 1818. JANE JOHNSTONE, deceased 29th March 1820. ELIZABETH JOHNSTONE, deceased 22d Dec. 1827, and PHELLADELPHEA REDMUND, their granddaughter, deceased 1811. Also their son, Major JOHN JOHNSTONE, of the Berwickshire Militia, who died 3d January 1848, aged 62 years.

5. Sacred to the memory of MARTIN KILGOURE, Esq., who died here 18th Aug. 1822.

Motto—"Nobilis ira."

6. Sacred to the memory of FRANCIS PHILIP STEWART, Esq., Colonel of the Hon. East India Company's service, on their Madras Establishment, and youngest son of the late John Stewart, Esq. of Musselburgh, who departed this life on the 23d of August 1834, aged 53 years, 9 months, and 21 days. An extensive circle of sorrowing friends in that eastern land, where he had lived beloved and respected for a period of 33 years, will feel that this is in truth no common loss. Integrity, sincerity, and unbounded benevolence, marked the tenor of his way through life, and these virtues truly endeared him as a husband, brother, and friend. This monument is erected as a tribute of affection to his memory by his widow.

Sacred to the memory of RICHARD STEWART, M.D., who died 18th Jan. 1833, aged 64.

In memory of JOHN STEWART, Esq., 55 years surgeon in this parish, who died 28th Nov. 1824, aged 83, and of SARAH JACKSON, his wife, who died 8th May 1813, aged 70.

7. To the memory of Mrs BATHEA ROCHEAD, who departed this life at Inveresk, upon the 3d day of November 1790, aged 63.

8. Near to this are interred the remains of General the Right Hon. Lord ADAM GORDON, who died the 13th August 1801, aged 70 years.

9. Near to this are interred the remains of Her Grace JANE, Duchess Dowager of Athole (or *Argyle*—tablet broken), who died on the 5th of Feb.

1791, at her apartments in Holyrood House, Edinburgh, aged 72 (?) The memorial of virtue is eternal.

10. Francisco Lindsay de Pinkieburn, armigero, Turmæ equitum præfecto viro probo, honesto, animi candore et morum suavitate insigni. Qui post multa stipendia honorifica, tandem emeritus, placide consenuit, in villa sua prope Musselburgum. Obiit anno ætatis 82do mense November 1791. Frater supernes (alter ob alterius funera ancelius), qui sacra exercet, in ecclesia Listoniana, fratri carissimo ob animum fere paternum. Hoc monumentum ponendum curavit. Ja. Lindsay, 1791.

In memoriam ALEXANDRI LINDSAY de Pinkieburn, M.D., qui magna in arte sua eminentia in conjuncto munere Primarii Chirurgi ad Hibernicum exercitum Regalium Tormentorum ac in urbi Eblana Medici acquisita.

Suis omnibus devinctus amicis
Ob ejus benignitatem cordis,
Atqui indolis amœnitatem.

Obiit 23tio die monsis Maii, A.D. 1820. æt. 78.

11. Hic juxta fratrem jacet JACOBUS LINDSAY de Pinkieburn, Ecclesiæ Listoniensis Pastor, vir liberalis et ingenui animi, horum fratrum uterque diversa sua munera, summa fidelitate semper exeronit;

Hic in rebus sacris,
Ille in militaribus.
"Concordes vivi mortui haud disjuncti."

Obijt anno ætatis 85, mense Novembris 1796.

To the memory of the Rev. JOHN WATSON, who was the faithful and beloved Pastor of the Congregational Church, Fisherrow, and for 33 years the indefatigable, devoted, and honoured secretary of the Congregational Union of Scotland, of which he was also the Founder. He died at Pinkieburn on the 5th Aug. 1844, in the 67th year of his age.—"Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord: they rest from their labours and their works do follow them."

In memory of JANE LINDSAY of Pinkieburn, relict of the Rev. J. Watson. She peacefully closed a long life of piety, gentleness, and beneficence, on the 8th Jan. 1849.

12. Sir JOHN HOPE of Craighall and Pinkie, Baronet, Member of Parliament for the County of Mid-Lothian, died 5th June 1853, in his 73d year.

Sir ARCHIBALD HOPE, Baronet, of Craighall, died the 10th day of July 1794, aged 59 years.

Dame ELIZABETH PATOUN, relict of Sir Archibald Hope, Baronet, died 5th January 1818, aged 59 years.

13. * * * * * * * * * * * * limitibus circumscribendi pignus a vidua memoriæ ROBERTI HUNTER, armigeri, de Campie, consecratum est qui olim Daccæ Bengaliensis mercaturam fecit et quarto Calendas Decembris anno orbis redempti, 1793, fato concessit annos quadraginta Novem. natus.

Desiderium ejus constanter sentietur et sensibilitas miseris alienis excitatu facillima et benevolentia ac luosa fideliter memoria tenebunter dum

unus etiam qui sepulchrum lachrymis doloris manis humectet superest mœrens amicus.

Sacred to the memory of the Rev. WILLIAM SMITH, A.M., 43 years Pastor of the Episcopal Congregation of Musselburgh, who departed this life, on 25th Jan. 1823, in the 74th year of his age, and 51st of his ministry: His unaffected piety, suavity of manners, and great private worth, endeared him to his people, and a numerous circle of friends, by whom his memory will long be cherished. Also of Mrs MARY SMITH, relict of the Rev. William Smith, died 12th Nov. 1833, aged 69 years. "Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord."

14. Here are interred the remains of Lieut.-Col. JOHN HENDERSON, who, having with merit spent the prime of his life in the service of the Hon. East India Company in Asia, died 7th March 1795, aged 59, in his native country. He delighted in doing good—the source of pleasure here and happiness hereafter. Quis desiderio sit pudor aut modus tam cari capitis.

15. JAMES DALRYMPLE, Esq., late Lieutenant-Colonel of the First Battalion of the Royals, died 21st Nov. 1791.

> Rest yet awhile within thy narrow room,
> Ye high prized relics of the best of men,
> Till at the trumpet's sound thy faithful tomb
> Shall render up its trust to earth again;
> Then shall exulting choirs of angels cry,
> Happy the man whose talent is improved,
> Come, heir of glory, to your master's joy—
> Come, taste the applauses of the God you love.

The Hon. ELIZ. ST CLAIR, relict of Lieut.-Col. James Dalrymple, died Nov. 13th, 1811.

16. In memory of ARCHIBALD CHRISTIE, Esq. of Ratho, born 10th July 1706, died 16th March 1796. Also ANNA GORDON his wife, grand-daughter of Sir James Gordon, Baronet, of Lismore. Born 12th Jan. 1726; died 11th April 1810. Also to their children—ANN, born 8th Nov. 1767; died 4th Nov. 1838. ANDREW, born 4th Oct. 1763; died 9th Jan. 1841.

"As in Adam all die, so in Christ shall all be made alive."—1 Cor. xv., 22.

17. JANE MYLNE, eldest daughter of James Mylne of Lenridge, wife of William Aitchison of Drummore, born June 22, 1764; died Jan. 5, 1833. WILLIAM AITCHISON of Drummore, born at Musselburgh 24th July 1753; died at Drummore, 3d May 1839. WILLIAM AITCHISON, their eldest son, born at Edinburgh 10th January 1784; died at Drummore 17th January 1846. HELEN, daughter of William Aitchison and Jane Mylne, died 30th December 1851, aged 62 years.

GEORGE AITCHISON, 4th son, born March 1791; died at Portobello 23d April 1847.

18. Sacred to the memory of ROBERT MITCHELL, timber-merchant, Fisherrow; his wife, MARGARET LIVIE; and his two sons, JOHN and FRANCIS, all of whom fell victims to that awful visitation of Heaven, the cholera morbus, during the first week of February 1832.

19. Sacred to the memory of ANDREW DOBIE, born in the parish of Tinwald, Dumfriesshire, June 21, 1850; died at Hallcross House, Fisher-

row, Aug. 27, 1837. Also ELIZABETH LAWSON, relict of the above, born in Bellingham, Northumberland, Sept. 5, 1750; died at Edinburgh, April 23, 1839.

20. In memory of MARY FLEMING, wife of Abram Moffat; died 16th May 1840, aged 53 years. Also their children, CATARINEA FLEMING LOVE, aged 17 years; AGNES, 13; and CHRISTIAN, 11 months.

21. Sacred to the memory of Quarter-master JOHN ROSS, late of the 71st Regiment, in which he served 47 years. On retiring from the regiment, a Silver Vase was presented by his brother officers, out of respect to him as a brave soldier and agreeable companion. His kindness to his relatives and benevolence to the poor will be long remembered. He died at Eskside, Musselburgh, on the 18th March 1837, in the 81st year of his age.

22. To the memory of JAMES STUART, Esq., Blairhall, who died 1st December 1814, aged 82 years; and MARY NICOLSON, his wife, who died 8th April 1823, aged 72 years.

23. Sacred to the memory of JAMES WATSON, painter in Edinburgh, who died there July 1809, aged 88; and of JANET DAWSON, his relict, who died at Monktonhall, May 1835, aged 80. And of their three sons, JAMES, who died in infancy at Edinburgh; STEWART, who died in Jamaica in 1805, aged 18; GEORGE, who died in Jamaica in April 1835, aged 55. This stone is erected as a tribute of respect and affection to their departed relatives by the three surviving daughters of the family.

ELIZABETH WATSON died 6th June 1844.

24. JOHN S. WILLIAMS, yr. of Campie, died 20th Nov. 1850.

25. Underneath are deposited the remains of THOMAS THOMSON, town-clerk of Musselburgh, who died Dec. 30, 1817, aged 87. In testimony of their filial affection, his Sons erected this monument. Also in memory of MARGARET NELSON, relict of Thomas Thomson, who died 14th January 1822, aged 76 years.

In memory of Mr GEORGE THOMSON, town-clerk, Musselburgh, who died 20th March 1846, aged 69 years. Also in memory of MARGARET STEWART, his wife, who died 29th Sept. 1849, aged 71 years.

26. To the memory of ALEXANDER LAUDER, who died at Goshen, 21st May 1846, aged 76. Also of FRANCIS LAUDER, who died 18th Nov. 1839, aged 43; and ISABELLA LAIDLAW, his wife, who died 9th Sept. 1836, aged 35.

JAMES SCOTT.

In memory of his son JAMES, who died in London, 13th December 1849, aged 29 years. JAMES SCOTT, sen., died 10th June 1853, aged 63 years.

27. Burying-ground of ROBERT WILSON.

In memory of JAMES MILLER, merchant, Musselburgh, who died 17th May 1849, aged 72.

28. Sacred to the memory of JOHN M'MILLAN, boot and shoe maker, Market Street, Fisherrow; born 31st Jan. 1799, and died Nov. 3, 1849. Also ALEXANDER M'MILLAN, his brother, boot and shoe maker; born 23d August 1815, and died Nov. 21, 1847. Also JOHN M'MILLAN, their father; born 30th August 1774, died 3d July 1851. Also MARION ROBERTSON, his spouse; born 23d August 1772, died 24th October 1851. Also

ANDREW M'MILLAN, their son; born 3d September 1800, died 5th April 1852.

29. In memory of ROBERT MACDONALD, merchant, Fisherrow, who died 4th April 1849, in the 69th year of his age.

30. In memory of Mr WILLIAM MILLAR, tanner and merchant, Fisherrow, who died 9th April 1846, aged 68 years.

31. The burial-place of THOMAS BROWN, late surgeon, Musselburgh, who died 20th August 1843, aged 75 years; and JANE COCHRAN, his widow, who died 10th April 1849, aged 80.

Their son, THOMAS M'MILLAN, died at Clifton, 18th July 1820, aged 22.

32. MOTTO—"*Si Deus Quis Contra.*"

SPENS OF LATHALLAN.

Sacred to the memory of Lieutenant-Colonel ARCHIBALD SPENS, Manor House, Inveresk, late of the Hon. E.I.C.S.; born 22d June 1765, died 15th May 1845. Also to CHARLOTTE, his wife, daughter of Arundel Philip, Esq., of Exeter; born 6th January 1778; died at Nottinghill, near London, 31st January 1848.

33. Erected in memory of THOMAS BROWN, who died 7th Dec. 1850, aged 84; and JANE JOHNSTON, his spouse, who died 11th June 1839, aged 65 years; both of Giffordhall. "Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord."

34. DAVID MACBETH MOIR, born 5th January 1798, died 6th July 1851.

35. Sacred to the memory of JAMES MITCHELL, of Gartocher Hill, Lanarkshire, who departed this life on the 19th July 1819, aged 44 years.

36. In memory of MARY STEWART ORMESBY BELL, who died here 25th March 1849, at the age of 3 years and 11 months. She was the eldest daughter of the late Captain Bell of the Bengal Horse Artillery, who died in Calcutta, 21st December 1835.

37. Sacred to the memory of ELIZABETH WEBSTER, wife of Lieutenant W. Loudon, R.N.; died 22d September 1849, aged 47 years.

MOTTO—"*Cause causit.*"

38. To the memory of the Hon. WILLIAM FULLERTON ELPHINSTONE, second son of Charles, tenth Lord Elphinstone; born September 1740, died May 1834. Also to ELIZABETH, his wife, daughter of William Fullerton of Carstairs, and niece of John Fullerton of Carberry; born January 1758, died May 1849. To CLEMENTINA, wife of Admiral Sir Pulteney Malcolm, G.C.B.; died November 1830. To JOHN FULLERTON, died 12th March 1854. To CHARLES, captain in the Royal Navy, lost in H.M. ship *Blenheim*, February 1807. To ELIZABETH, died October 1802. To Major-General WILLIAM KEITH, died in India, April 1842. To ANNA, died 29th August 1850. To DIANA MARIA, only child of Charles Clavering, Esq., wife of Lieut.-Col. J. D. Elphinstone; born 8th June 1801, died 24th December 1821. Interred in this vault, ANNA MARIA, wife of Lieut.-Col. James Drummond Buller Elphinstone, daughter of Vice-Admiral Sir Edward Buller, Bart.; born 3d November 1799, died at Carberry 25th February 1845. Lieut.-Col. JAMES FULLERTON ELPHINSTONE, fourth son

of the Hon. W. F. Elphinstone; born 4th May 1788, died at Carberry 8th March 1857.

39. Sacred to the memory of the Rev. LESLIE MOODIE, D.D., for thirty-four years minister of this parish, who died 27th July 1840, in the lxxiv year of his age and xlv of his ministry. His amiable disposition, placid temper, manly intellect, an unbending integrity, united with polished manners and refined taste, have embalmed his memory in the hearts of his many friends: while his genuine piety, firm faith, ardent zeal for the interests of religion, and enlightened views of divine truth, enabled him to adorn the doctrine of God his Saviour, faithfully to preach His Word, and, after having been chastened by protracted illness, to finish his course with joy. Erected by his affectionate Widow. Here also are interred the mortal remains of Mrs CATHERINE FERGUSSON, widow of the above, who died at Kilkerran, in the county of Ayr, on the 27th July 1841, aged 70 years. "Be ye therefore ready also, for the Son of man cometh at an hour when ye think not." Luke xii. 40. "And I heard a voice from Heaven saying unto me, Write, Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord from henceforth; yea, saith the Spirit, that they may rest from their labours, and their works do follow them."

Here lie interred the remains of MARY AITKEN, maid to Mrs Leslie Moodie, who died at Catherine Lodge, 17th October 1840, aged 27; inscribed by her attached mistress as a mark of regard for her long and faithful services, and of respect for her pious and upright character.

40. Sacred to the memory of MARGARET, eldest daughter of the deceased Patrick Kerr, Esq. of Abbotrule, who died at Eskside, parish of Inveresk, the 15th of April 1832. A pious Christian and a faithful friend.

41. In memory of ROBERT PATULLO, Esq., late of Balhouffie, Fifeshire, died 16th July 1852, aged 76. CHARLOTTE STEWART, his wife, died 14th January 1854, age 73.

42. Sacred to the memory of CHARLES STEWART, Esq., late commander of the H.E.I.C. ship *Airley Castle*, who died the 23d August 1817, in the 70th year of his age; and of MARY STEWART, his wife, who died the 4th September 1825, in the 53d year of her age. Also of WORTLIE STEWART, their third daughter, who died the 26th June 1829, in the 27th year of her age—and who are all here interred. Also to the memory of JAMES STEWART, their eldest son, who died in May 1790, aged 10 months; of FRANCIS STEWART, their second son, in the service of the Hon. E.I.C., who died at St Helena the 23d December 1817, aged 21 years; and of WALTER STEWART, their third son, lieutenant in the Hon. E.I.C.'s 12th Regiment of Bombay Native Infantry, who died at Poonah the 2d October 1826, aged 22.

43. Sacred to the memory of JAMES BURN, Esq., Maryfield, late merchant in Edinburgh—a man whose upright and benevolent heart procured for him the love of his friends and the respect of the world. He was born February 22, 1751, and died July 22, 1829.

44. Sacred to the memory of THOMAS MILNE, merchant in Edinburgh, B. and G. Brother of the City, and of Campie House, in this parish, who

died 7th December 1809, aged 42 years. His goodness of heart was only equalled by his integrity of manners.

Here also lies interred DAVID MILNE, of Campie House, who died the 4th June 1818, aged 84 years, father of Thomas Milne, and many years a merchant in Edinburgh. Much esteemed and respected.

45. In memory of Admiral Sir DAVID MILNE, G.C.B., &c., &c., &c. For 60 years he served his country in the Royal Navy; his gallant deeds are recorded in her annals. In all the relations of private life he was upright, exemplary, and esteemed. He expired at sea on the 5th of May 1845, aged 82 years, whilst returning to his native home from Devonport, at which station he had been for the three previous years Commander-in-Chief.

Here are deposited the remains of GRACE, wife of Rear-Admiral David Milne, who died at Bordeaux, in France, the 4th of October 1814, where she had gone for the recovery of her health. Her remains were brought to this country by her affectionate husband, and re-interred here the 18th of February 1815. She was eldest daughter of Sir Alexander Purves of Purves, Bart., by Mary Home, daughter of Sir James Home of Coldingham, Bart., in the County of Berwick. Also a son, named THOMAS, who died in infancy.

46. This stone is erected to the memory of GEORGE DUNCAN, Esq., by his family, Feb. 1841.

47. Sacred to the memory of ROBERT DICKSON, merchant in Musselburgh, who died 17th Dec. 1824, aged 73 years. Also his wife, ISABELLA DOBIE, who died 5th May 1822, in the 71st year of her age; and their eldest son, ROBERT DICKSON, who died 30th April 1831. Also his wife, MARY ANN STEWART, who died 27th Aug. 1839, aged 57 years, and their daughter, ELIZABETH, who died in infancy.

48. In memory of JANE WEIR, wife of Andrew Balfour, died 5th June 1847.

49. In memory of MARGARET M'CALL, wife of Isaac Mercer, who died 16th March 1851, aged 39 years.

"Not lost, but gone before."

50. Here lies ANDREW ANDERSON, merchant in Market-gate, who died 29th April 1731, aged 36 years. Also CATHARINE SIMPSON, his spouse, who died 3d March 1771, aged 77 years, and 5 of their children who died young. Also ROBERT ANDERSON, their son, died 6th March 1812, aged 91. JENNET HUNTER, his spouse, died 7th Dec. 1811, aged 80, and here interred.

51. Erected in memory of ELIZABETH JANE, third daughter of William Miller, who died at Rose-Hall, on the 23d June 1852, aged 10 months.

52. Sacred to the memory of JOHN THOMSON, Esq., who died 11th February 1800, aged 93.

Sacred to the memory of MARY LOGIE, spouse of John Thomson, Esq., who died 21st December 1817, aged 70.

53. Sacred to the memory of Mr JOHN GULLAN, who died 22d February

1805, aged 79 years. Also Mrs ISABELLA CHRISTIE, spouse to John Gullan, wright in Newbigging, who died 10th July 1797, aged 70 years.

Much esteemed in life, and regretted at death.

ELIZABETH GULLAN, their daughter, died in infancy.

54. In memory of WILLIAM CHRISTIE, late farmer in Craigmertoun, county of Kincardine, who died at Newbigging, 25th Sept. 1776, aged 91 years.

55. In memory of DAVID GULLAN, who died 26th Dec. 1827, aged 64 years, and MARGARET WATSON, his wife, who died 17th Jan. 1837, aged 68 years; also four of their sons, and four daughters.

56. Here lyes the body of JOHN THOMSON, late marcht in Musselburgh, who died Dec. 1, 1774, aged 74, and MARGARET MARTINE, his spouse, who died April 15, 1765, aged 69 years.

Be ye followers of those who, through faith and patience, inherit the promise—"Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord."

57. To the memory of Captain JAMES BROWN, late of the 55th Reg. of Foot, who departed this life, May 12, 1825, aged 65 years. Also MARY BROWN, his sister, who died 30th May 1828.

58. Sacred to the memory of Dr SCOTT of Coats, Fife, his Family, and Descendants.

59. Here lie interred the remains of Mrs LILLIAS MURRAY, daughter of John Murray, Esq., younger of Polmaise, and relict of William Buchan, Esq., younger of Drummakell. She departed this life upon the 2d day of June 1776, aged 72 years.

60. Sacred to the memory of JOHN BURN, Esq., late a member of his Majesty's Honourable Council in South Carolina, where he lived beloved and respected, as well for the virtues which adorned his private life, as for those which formed his public character. Returning to his native country to inspect the education of an only son, he was, by a premature death, in his 43d year, deprived of that pleasing office, and delivered from the pain of seeing the ruin of his private fortune by the distraction of public affairs in the colonies. He died 29th December, MDCCLXXIV.

Here also, ANN BURN, his widow, who died 20th March. . . . . endearing in the character of a wife, mother, and friend. . . . .

61. Sacred to the memory of Colonel ALEXANDER WEDDERBURN, late of the Coldstream Guards, and fifth son of the late Sir John Wedderburn, Bart. of Blackness and Balindean, whose remains lie here interred, born 18th June 1791; died 30th July 1839. Also SUSAN WEDDERBRUN, born January 18, 1785; died February 3, 1840.

Them that sleep in Jesus will God bring with him.

Sacred to the memory of Dame MARGARET BROWN, Lady Wedderburn, born 5th February 1775; died 14th February 1845. And

Mrs COLVILLE of Ochiltree, wife of Andrew Blackburn, Esq., died 2d Dec. 1800, aged 74 years.

MARGARET BLACKBURN, daughter of Andrew Blackburn Colville of Ochiltree, born 7th June 1766; died 9th February 1842.

Mrs ELIZABETH WEDDERBURN, wife of Andrew Wedderburn, Esq., died 22d Dec. 1803, aged 20 years.

JAMES WEDDERBURN COLVILLE, Esq., died at Inveresk, 14th Dec. 1807, aged 78 years.

ISABELLA BLACKBURN COLVILLE of Ochiltree, relict of James Wedderburn Colville, born 4th February 1756; died 14th Jan. 1821.

63. Hic jacet RICHARDUS FISHER, armigeri de Lorgetto, qui propter pietatem, ingenium humanum et civile, omnibus fuit carus. Hic etiam dormitat ELIZABETHA, filia ejus minima natu, quæ formæ morumque elegantia, nec non, animi doribus, et amore erga parentes: Præ cæteris enituit. Filia mortua est Mart. 1790. Et. 24. Pater obiit. 30 Maii 1793, Et 55.

Conjux et mater mœstissima MARGARETA VERE (cujus soror) parissima SUSANNA . . . . . Obiit Junii 23, 1780. . . .

64. The burying-place of PETER HANDYSIDE, Greenhall. 1832. In memory of Mrs MARGARET VERNOR, eldest daughter of Robert Vernor of Holms, and wife of Peter Handyside, Greenhall, who died 18th January 1837, in her eightieth year. PETER HANDYSIDE, Greenhall, died 12th July 1839, in his eighty-second year.

Mrs AGNES HANDYSIDE, wife of John Arnot, merchant, Edinburgh, died the 20th October 1832, aged 34 years.

In memory of AGNES, daughter of Peter Handyside, Fenton, East-Lothian; died 30th January 1832, aged 7 years.

It must be sweet in childhood to give back the spirit to its Maker, ere the heart has grown familiar with the paths of sin, and sown to gather up its bitter fruits.

Also MARGARET, who died 20th March 1837, aged 7 months. JANE ELIZA, who died 12th October 1838, aged 7 months.

In memory of MARION, daughter of Robert Handyside, who died 4th November 1835, aged six weeks.

65. In the hope of a blessed resurrection. Interred the remains of JANET SCOTT WHITELAW, who died 16th January 1831.

66. Sacred to the memory of MARIA, widow of the Hon. Colonel James Stuart; died 30th July 1830. Also HENRY and MELNOTH, children of the late John Campbell, Esq., Bengal Civil Service; died 6th Nov. 1835. JAMES STUART, Esq., captain R.N., died 17th Nov. 1838. MARIA STUART, spinster, died 15th Feb. 1843. MARGARET, widow of Archibald Douglas, Esq., died 24th April 1847.

67. Here lyeth JAMES WALKER, mason in Musselburgh.

68. Here lyeth WILLIAM TOD, late Bailie of Musselburgh, who died upon the 3d of December 1675; his age 46 years.

William Tod.

. . . . . [Stone has representation of Justice, with appropriate inscription.]

69. In memory of ELIZABETH LEGAT, wife of Robert Aitken, merchant, Musselburgh, who died 8th June 1849, aged 37 years. Also their son, ROBERT, who died 16th May 1847, aged 8 years.

MOTTO—"*Live but dread.*"

70. Sacred to the memory of Major-General Sir PATRICK LINDESAY, K.C.B., who after a distinguished service of more than XLIV years in almost every quarter of the globe, acquired a reputation of the highest order. An affectionate relative, a steadfast friend, a brave and accomplished soldier, may the memory of his worth long survive this simple record of his name, and at the last may he be found acceptable to Him through whose merits alone we can be received unto eternal life. Nat. 21 February 1778, ob. 14 March 1839.

71. The burying-place of GEORGE ROBERTSON, who died 5th April 1842, aged 57 years.

72. In memory of THOMAS LEGAT, Trafalgar Lodge, 24 April 1850, aged 64 years.

73. To the memory of CHRISTINA CAMPBELL, who died at Gordon Castle on the 5th of April 1828, aged 35 years, and is buried close by the side of this wall. Erected by her affectionate husband, James Richardson, minister of the Scotch church at Hexham.

To the memory of BEETY CAMPBELL, who died at Gordon Castle on the 13th of June 1824, aged 74 years.

74. Sacred to the memory of JOHN STUART, Esq., Blairhall, who died at his own house, Fisherrow, 26th February 1808; and his eldest daughter, MARGARET, who died in Fisherrow, 1st October 1806; and his youngest daughter, WORTLEY MONTAGUE MOIR, who died at Chantinghall, 2d March 1832.

75. In memory of JOHN PORTEOUS, smith, Market Street, who died 7th February 1829, aged 70 years. Also ISABELLA YOUNG, his spouse, who died 4th August 1809, aged 52 years. Also ANN M'FARLANE, wife of Andrew Porteous, who died suddenly on 9th of September 1846, aged 52 years. ANDREW PORTEOUS died the 27th December 1848, aged 52. ISABELLA PORTEOUS, wife of James Stenhouse, farmer, Southfield, who died 19th January 1857, aged 34 years.

ANDREW PORTEOUS died 14th September 1832, aged 4 years.

DUNCAN PORTEOUS died 26th September 1832, aged 2 years.

76. Sacred to the memory of FRANCIS SCHAW, who died the 24th of September 1809. Also to the memory of ALEXANDER SCHAW, who died the 9th November 1818, aged 73.

77. Sacred to the memory of THOMAS SCOTT, builder, Inveresk, who died December 24, 1819, aged 45 years. Here also are interred the remains of RACHEL SCOTT, his only daughter, who died 29th August 1831, aged 18 years, to the inexpressible grief and regret of all her surviving friends. Also THOMAS SCOTT, his son, who died 5th July 1839, aged 20 years and six months.

78. TO THE MEMORY OF

1. ALEXANDER CARLYLE, D.D., fifty-one years minister of this parish. Born on the 26th of January 1772, died on the 25th of August 1805. Having thus lived in a period of great lustre to the country, in arts and arms, in literature and science, in freedom, religious and civil: He too was worthy of the times—learned and eloquent, liberal and exemplary in his manner, faithful to his pastoral charge, not ambitious of popular applause,

but to his people a willing guide in the way of righteousness and truth. In his private connections, a kind relation, an assiduous friend, and an agreeable companion, not immersed in speculation, but earnest in action, to promote the merit he esteemed, or the public cause he espoused; and when full of years calmly prepared to die in peace.

2. And MARY RODDAM, his spouse, one of the two daughters and coheiresses of Robert Roddam, Esq., of Heathpool, in Northumberland; younger by many years than her husband, died about a year before him. Elegant and prepossessing in her person, frugal without meanness, knowing without pretensions to learning; and, without severity, a check to the follies with which pretended learning is too often accompanied. To her acquaintances a continual model of good sense and propriety of manners; and to her husband, whether in the progress or decline of life, a source of that comfort which understanding and benevolence alone can supply.

79. Here lyes Mr ANDREW BLACKHALL, Pastor of this church 35 years, who dyed 31 January 1609, aged 73.

80. Here lyes Mr JOHN WILLIAMSON, Pastor of this church 38 years, labouring incessantly for the good of his flock, which was ever dear to him, faithfully declaring the Gospel unto them to their great comfort. He dy'd, greatly lamented, on the 2d of February MDCCXL., in the lx year of his age.

81. Here lyes CHRISTIAN BOYD, spouse to Mr John Williamson, Pastor of this church, who dy'd Jan. 28 MDCCXXXII., aged l. years. Also three of their sons and four daughters, who dy'd betwixt the years of MDCCVIII. and MDCCXX., and between the i. & vi. year of their age.

Renovated by James Saunders Robertson, Esq., W.S.

Motto—"In omnia promptus."

82. Sir DAVID RAE of Eskgrove, Baronet, Lord Justice-Clerk of Scotland, died 1804.

Sir DAVID RAE, Baronet, died 1815. Dame HELEN COLT, his spouse, died at Paris, interred here, 1820.

Right Hon. Sir WILLIAM RAE, Baronet, Lord Advocate of Scotland, died 1842. Dame MARY STUART, his spouse, died 1839.

Sacred to the memory of four sisters, HELEN, MARGARET, MARY, and GRACE, daughters of Sir David Rae, Baronet, who died abroad.

83. Here lyes Bailie GEORGE WILSON, brewer in Musselburgh, who died 6th Jan. 1793, aged 62 years. JEAN LEITCH, his spouse, died 21st July 1804, aged 75 years. Also four of their children, who died young.

84. Sacred to the memory of DUNCAN WILKIE, flesher, Newbigging, who died 2d April 1845, aged 75 years, and Mrs ELIZABETH WILKIE, his spouse, who died 25th Nov. 1843, aged 69 years, much regretted. Also their five sons, EDWARD, CHARLES, SAMUEL, GEORGE, and LAUCHLAN. This stone was erected by David Wilkie, their youngest son, as a token of his sincere and affectionate regard for his parents and brothers.

85. Sacred to the memory of GEORGE CAMPBELL, Eskside, who died 25th February 1828, aged 65 years. Also Mrs JEAN DUDGEON, his spouse, who died 11th August 1834, aged 66 years.

86. [Obelisk in good preservation ; said to have been carved by Archibald Handasyde.]

Sub hoc tumulo jacit JOANNA, filia Archibaldi Handasyde, Cœmentarii Conchipolensis, et JANETÆ YOUNG, ejusdem uxoris, quæ obiit 8th Oct. 1733 anno, ætatis 6to.

In spe Resurrectionis, cineres unius filiæ et duorum filiorum ALEXANDRI DRUMMOND, mercatoris Londini, degentis et MAGDALENA HANDASYDE, conjugis ejus, hic requiescunt ; viz.

EUPHEMIÆ, quæ obiit 6 Jun. 1729 ann., æta. 4. JACOBI, qui 28vo Maii, 1730, mense æta. 15to, et AEEXANDRI, 21st Sept. 1736 anno, ætatis 10mo.

Sacred to the memory of EUPHEMIA HAY, spouse of James Wilkie, flesher, Fisherrow, who died the 26th of Dec. 1838, aged 61, universally lamented.

87. Erected to the memory of JOHN CURRIE, marble-cutter in Edinburgh, who departed this life on the 12th of May 1808, aged 51 years.

88. To the memory of EDWARD, aged $3\frac{1}{2}$ years ; and WILLIAM, aged $5\frac{1}{2}$ years, who both died in March 1834, sons of William Douglas, Portobello. Also of ANNIE BRUCE ALLEN, his grand-child, and daughter of J. L. Bailley,* Musselburgh, who died 18th August 1852, aged one year and ten months.

89. Here are deposited the remains of WILLIAM SMART, shoemaker, Fisherrow, who died 14th June 1819, aged 75. Also MARY SMART, his daughter, who died 15th June 1818, aged 23. Also HELEN BRIGGS, spouse of William Smart, who died 27th Aug. 1822, aged 72.

90. Interred here the remains of JOHN DUDGEON, late flesher and portioner in Musselburgh, who died 1st of November 1801, aged 69 years. Also ANN WATSON, his spouse, who died 11th of November 1810, aged 72 years.

91. MARGARET FEILD, wife of John Taylor, Esq., died 1st November 1828, aged 47.

92. To the memory of ANNE SUTHERLAND, relict of Lieutenant Adam Gordon, who was born in the parish of Kildonan, and died in Fisherrow, on the 25th May 1855, aged 75 years. And ADAM GORDON, their son, for many years Procurator-Fiscal and Superintendent of the burgh of Musselburgh, who also was born in the parish of Kildonan, Sutherlandshire, and died at Edinburgh on the 2d December 1855, aged 51 years.

93. In memory of JOHN DALRYMPLE, who died in Dalrymple's Loan, 5th Feb. 1828, aged 71 years ; and of ELIZABETH THOMSON, his spouse, who died 4th Jan. 1835, aged 80 years. ELIZABETH, their eldest daughter, wife of John Inglis, who died 26th July 1818, aged 35 years. JOHN, their only son, who died 1st July 1819, aged 34 years. JANE, their third daughter, who died 11th Feb. 1840, aged 49 years.

94. Sacred to the memory of MARY RICHARDSON, spouse of Thomas Thomson, candlemaker, Musselburgh, who died the 3d of March 1818. Also, JEAN, their daughter, who died the 31st May 1818, aged 10 years ; and five children, who died young.

* Writer and notary public.

"Those lovely buds, and mother dear,
Call'd hence by early doom;
Just came to show how these sweet flowers
In Paradise would bloom."

95. * * * * * * * * * * * *
SAMUEL WATT, who dy'd . . . . 1795, aged 79 . . . Here lyes JEAN and MARGET WATT, daughters to Samuel Watt, smith. Also MARGRET DALRYMPLE, his spouse, who died May 17, 1779, aged 57 years; and JOHN WATT, son to Samuel Watt, who died Sept. 10, 1786, aged 25 years. Bailie WILLIAM WATT, aged 51 years; and 8 of his children, are interred here.

96. Here lies interred the body of MRS ANN MOSTYN, late wife to Captain William Johnston, who departed this life the 13th of August 1801, aged 73 years. This plain and unadorned stone is erected to her memory by an affectionate husband, as a testimonial of her incomparable merits. Reader, she was one of the best of wives, and best of mothers.

97. Here lyes JOHN PEARSON, second son of the deceased William Pearson, late of Kippenross, Esq., who died at Westbush, near Fisherrow, upon the 8th day of August, 1797, aged 14 years.

98. To the memory of JOHN MURRAY, A.M., Rector of the Grammar School of Musselburgh, who died 26th April 1794, in the 69th year of his age, and of numerous descendants who are here interred. His son, DAVID MURRAY, Esq., died at White House, Fisherrow, on 17th April 1847, in his 74th year, and is also here interred. Here also lie the remains of ISABELLA BROWN, relict of the late D. Murray, Esq. She died at White House, Fisherrow, 5th May, 1850, aged 73 years.

99. Interred here the remains of JOHN LAURIE, who died 26th March 1804, aged 56 years. Also JOANNA BALLANTYNE, his wife, who died 25th Oct. 1801, aged 49 years.

100. Here lyes ANN HUNTER, spouse to Robert Dewar, merchant in Musselburgh, who died upon the 24th day of November 1778, aged 27 years.

101. In memory of GABRIEL WILSON, Esq., who died at Eskside, 17th March 1839, aged 69 years. WILLIAM WILSON, his son, died 20th March 1824, aged 13 months. RACHEL WILSON, his daughter, died 24th Nov. 1827, aged 7 years. ANN WILSON, his daughter, died 3d July 1831, aged 2 years.

102. Erected by Thomas Hughes, Inveresk, and sacred to the memory of MARY COOPER, his spouse, who departed this life the 21st Jan. 1833, ageed 55 years, after a lingering and severe illness, which she bore with much fortitude and resignation. Here also lie the remains of ELIZABETH HUGHES, their daughter, who died 21st Sept. 1800, aged 11 months; and of JOSEPH NICHOLSON, their nephew, who died 23d Jan. 1810, aged 1 month. And of ELIZABETH COOPER, mother of the said Mary Cooper, who died 10th Nov. 1813, aged 70 years. Also of BETSY ANN NICHOLSON, the beloved and only daughter of J. F. Nicholson, who died 12th April 1838, aged 20 years. She was pious in life, patient under suffering, and resigned at death. Also THOMAS HUGHES, who died 16th April 1839, aged 63

years. He was generous, humane, charitable, pious. Also HELEN COOPER, wife of J. F. Nicholson, who died at Inveresk, 8th May 1845, aged 64 years.

103. In memory of EDWARD PEACOCK, merchant in Fisherrow, who died 23d Jan. 1837, aged 36 years.

104. To the memory of JOHN CREE, merchant in Musselburgh, who died the 4th of May 1803, aged 57 years.

105. To the memory of WILLIAM THOMSON, mason, in Market Street, Musselburgh, who died 29th April 1800, aged 71 years. Also MARION HUNTER, his spouse, died the 5th of December 1813, aged 70. And JAMES THOMSON, their son, who died the 24th of Nov. 1802, aged 34.

106. In memory of JAMES BERTRAM, Esq., merchant in Edinburgh, who died on the 9th of Oct. 1810.

107. To the memory of HELEN HALL, daughter of the Rev. Samuel Hall, late vicar of Chatton, Northumberland, who died at Edinburgh 24th Jan. 1840.

"Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord."

108. Sacred to the memory of MARY ANDERSON, daughter of Joseph Astley, and wife of John Wilson Anderson, M.D., died Sept. 25th 1833, aged 28. And to JOHN WILSON ANDERSON, M.D., husband of the foregoing, who died at Leith, Nov. 1st, 1835, aged 35 years; and to REBECCA ASTLEY, widow of Joseph Astley, who died at Fisherrow, Sept. 19th, 1846, aged 65 years.

109. Sacred to the memory of JOSEPH ASTLEY, Esq., Edinburgh, chemical manufacturer, who died the 24th June 1832, aged 54 years; and of two of his children, viz., ANN, who died the 3d July 1811, aged 7 months; PHEBE ANN, who died the 29th Dec. 1814, aged 4 months. Also WILLIAM CHANNING ANDERSON, son of J. W. Anderson, M.D., and of MARY, eldest daughter of Mr Joseph Astley, died 8th Sept. 1851, aged 11 months; all of whom are here interred. And to THOMAS ASTLEY, manufacturing chemist, Magdalene Bridge, Fisherrow, eldest son of the late Joseph Astley, died October 1st, 1850, aged 41 years.

110. Erected by Capt. M'Laren, 1st Militia, in memory of his son, JOHN R. M'LAREN, who died in Musselburgh Barracks, 18th April 1807, in the 8th year of his age.

111. This stone is erected by James Stewart, gardener, Pinkie, in memory of CIRSTAIN HARVEY, his mother, who died February 13th, 1800, aged 67 years. Also WILLIAM STEWART, his brother, who died 2d May, 1806, aged 34 years. Likewise JANET HILSON, his spouse, who died 20th Nov. 1806, aged 48; and four of their children, who died when young.

112. In memory of the Rev. JAMES SCOTT, Minister of the Gospel of the Associate Congregation, Musselburgh, who died the 22d of March 1786, aged 42 years, and the 18th of his ministry; much and justly regretted.

"Help, Lord, because the Godly man doth daily faid away,
And from among the sons of men the faithful do decay."

Also his spouse, ISABEL CRANSTOUN, who died 11th March 1824, aged 80; and two daughters, MARGARET and MOFFAT, who died early in life, are also interred here. And WILLIAM SCOTT, their son, died 26th July 1830,

aged 65 years. Also ANN WESTWOOD, his wife, died 2d May 1810, aged 30 years; and JAMES SCOTT, their son, died at St Andrews, 27th August 1844, aged 34.

113. To the memory of the Rev. JAMES SCOTT, Minister of the Associate Congregation in Portsburgh, Edinburgh, who died February 6th, 1795, in the twenty-second year of his age, and the second of his ministry. His dispositions were amiable and manly; his conduct was suitable to the sacred nature of his office; and his talents, which he had just time to show to the world, promised to be highly useful to the church. He was affectionate as a relative, agreeable as an acquaintance, and faithful as a friend. He resigned his mortal life, in the hope of that immortality which was the business of his ministry to point out to others, as a source of consolation under trials, and of fortitude in the hour of dissolution. This stone was erected by his disconsolate congregation.

114. Here lies the body of JEAN NEILSON, spouse to John Brenner, late merchant in Nairn. She departed this life the 5th Nov. 1796, aged 61 years. Also the body of ALEXANDER JOHNSTON, late merchant in Fisherrow, who died the 10th of June 1810, aged 50 years.

115. Sacred to the memory of the late Rev. WM. M'KECHNIE of the Relief Church, Musselburgh, who died on 1st April 1828, in the 68th year of his age, and 43d of his ministry; much regretted. Erected by the Relief Church in memory of their late minister, whose liberal mind and suavity of manners were pious without ostentation; an affectionate friend, unassuming in life, and amiable in the social circle in which he moved.

> In classic fame, high in repute,
> Ah, now instructive tongue, thou'rt mute.

116. Sacred to the memory of CHRISTIAN M'MILLAN, wife of William Watt, merchant, Fisherrow, who died 17th August, 1832, aged 37 years. Also four of their children, who died when young.

117. Here lys VIOLET DOUGLAS, spouse to James Ramage, ship-master in Fisherrow, and after his death, spouse to John Samson, wright in Musselburgh, ...

Here lyes interred KATHERINE MAIN, spouse to John Sampson, . . . 1712, . . .

119. In memory of JOHN MARTIN, born 18th August 1837, died 12th January 1854; and of WILLIAM HAMILTON MARTIN, born 1st June 1843, died 14th February 1854.

To depart and be with Christ is far better."—Philip. i. 23.

The departed were sons of the late Rev. Samuel Martin, Free Church Minister at Bathgate, who entered into his heavenly rest about four years before them.

"I am the resurrection and the life: he that believeth in me, though he were dead, yet shall he live."

120. The burying-place of Robert Gray.

121. Here lies interred the body of ANN CREE, (wife of William Ward, late vintner in Musselburgh), who died 22d of April 1853, in the 75th year of her age. She was a loving wife, a tender parent, and an affectionate

friend. Her death will be long and sincerely regretted by her daughter, who has erected this humble stone as a small mark of affection to the memory of a much-beloved and much-lamented mother.

How still and peaceful is the grave,
When days of grief are past.
* * * * * * * * * * * *

122. To the memory of GEORGE STUART, late merchant, Bridge-end of Fisherrow, who died 25th Feb. 1824, aged 51 years. JESSIE STUART, his youngest daughter, died 8th Nov. 1823, aged 17 years. DAVID STUART, his third son, died 5th March 1830, aged 24 years. JOHN CLARK STUART, his youngest son, died 25th Sept. 1830, aged 17 years. GEORGE STUART, his eldest son, late surgeon in North Berwick, died Decr. 1831, aged 33. Mrs ISABELLA KILGOUR, his sister-in-law, died 19th December 1854, aged 82.

123. In memory of MARGARET and ELIZA SCOTT, who died in infancy, and were interred here in June 1824. St Luke, ch. xviii. v. 16.—"Suffer little children to come unto me, for of such is the kingdom of God."

124. In memory of MARGARET PHILIPS, relict of John Donaldson, land-surveyor, Dunfermline, who was interred here upon the 12th Sept. 1827, aged 75 years. She was a sincere Christian, an affectionate mother, and a faithful friend.

Only the actions of the just smell sweet and blossom in the dust.

At the S.E. corner of this stone is the resting-place of ROBERT FLEMING, of the Excise, who died 30th Sept. 1855, aged 83 years. As an honest man he lived highly respected, and died greatly regretted.

125. In sacred and lively remembrance of the Rev. ALEXANDER BLACK, who was born at Dunfermline, 30th June 1764, and ordained at Musselburgh 27th August 1788, to be Minister of the Secession, now the United Presbyterian Church, this tablet is erected by Mrs Jean Black, formerly Martin, his widow, who was united to him in marriage for the period of 53 years. Among friends of all denominations, in the town-hall of Musselburgh, 27th August 1838, he commemorated the close of the fiftieth year of his ministry, and died at Musselburgh, 30th January 1846, in his 82d year. A monumental tablet has been erected to his memory in the United Presbyterian Church, Bridge Street, bearing this inscription :—"In him were blended in beautiful proportions, those qualities which constitute the Christian scholar, the Christian minister, and the Christian friend : having adorned the gospel which he preached by the simplicity of his piety, and the blamelessness of his life, and having a good report of all men and of the truth itself, he rested from his labours 30th January 1846.

ALEXANDER, eldest son of the Rev. Alexander Black, and Mrs Jean Black, formerly Martin, died 4th May 1814, in the 19th year of his age. MARGARET, their eldest daughter, died 4th January 1819, in the 20th year of her age. PATRICK, their youngest son, died 31st January 1847, in the 37th year of his age.

126. DAVID MARTIN, brewer in Musselburgh, died on the 1st of April 1793, aged 64 years. MARGARET CARSE, his spouse, died on the 8th Nov.

1789, aged 55 years; two of their children, DAVID and ANN, died when young.

127. Here lyes the body of ANN CAMERON, wife of Donald Cameron, of the Aberdeenshire Militia, who departed this life 4th Nov. 1807, aged 36 years.

128. This monument is erected by Jean Cochrane, in memory of her deceased parents.

To the memory of GEORGE COCHRANE, late tenant in Black Hill, who died on the 2d March 1779, aged 82 years; and JEAN GRIEVE, his spouse, who died on the 7th May 1782, aged 62 years. Also GEORGE COCHRANE, their eldest son, who died at Musselburgh on the 11th Nov. 1790, aged 48 years; and JOHN COCHRANE, their second son, who died at Edinburgh on the 17th March 1817, aged 70 years.

Also their youngest son, ALEXANDER COCHRANE, who died at London, on the 23d Oct. 1815, aged 58 years. Also the said JEAN COCHRANE, their youngest daughter, widow of James Cowan, Candlemaker in Edinburgh, who died at Musselburgh on the 17th Sept. 1826, aged 74 years. A woman eminent for piety and good works.

MARGARET WILSON, relict of George Cochrane, died on the 21st Aug. 1826, at Musselburgh. Her religion was sincere, and her patience under a tedious illness exemplary. Two of their sons, GEORGE and ALEXANDER, died, the former aged 24, and the latter aged 28 years.

129. Sacred to the memory of DAVID STEWART, late flesher, Fisherrow, who departed this life, 24th May 1817, aged 57 years. Also MARGARET STEWART, his daughter, who died 4th December 1807, aged 15 years; and JAMES STEWART, son of the deceased David Stewart, who died 18th April 1821, aged 25 years.

130. Here is interred the remains of GEORGE HASTIE, mariner, who died April the 6th, 1787, aged 55 years; and MARY AINSLIE, his spouse, who died 3d April, 1814, aged 80. Also their children, ROBERT, who died in Jan. 1780, aged 17. JANET, who died 3d July 1803, aged 42; and near this MARGARET, spouse of James Bolton, who died 10th March 1813, aged 34.

131. Erected by John Adam Hunter, merchant, Fisherrow, in memory of his children, THOMAS HUNTER, died Feb. 11, 1791, aged 3 years. JOHN ADAM HUNTER, died Feb. 28, 1791, aged 1 year. MARTIN HUNTER, died Feb. 5, 1793, aged 1 year.

132. Mr JAMES MORTIMER, portioner, Inveresk, died 23d July 1815, aged 87. And JAMES MORTIMER, son to James Mortimer, portioner in Inveresk, who died June 26th 1773, aged 3 years.

133. Sacred to the memory of HENRY CARMICHAEL, late of Musselburgh, who died 27th May 1828, aged 66 years; and of his beloved wife, JANET THOMSON, who died 25th May 1818, aged 49 years.

They passed through a life of many trials with most exemplary uprightness, fortitude, and resignation, highly respected by all who knew them. They were sincere and consistent Christians. Also of MARY, their eldest daughter, who died on the 10th of March 1856, aged 66 years.

This stone is erected as a tribute of respect to the memory of affectionate and beloved parents, by their children.

134. In memory of WILLIAM WOOD, born at Eskbank, 2d Feb. 1817 : died at Musselburgh 20th Dec. 1852.

"Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sins of the world."

135. Sacred to the memory of HARRIET DEAN, born in Manchester June 11th, 1813 ; died at Musselburgh Dec. 30th, 1855.

136. Sacred to the memory of EDWARD JOSEPH HAUQUET, who died at Musselburgh, 29th Feb. 1856, aged 73 years.

137. Sacred to the memory of ANN STEELE, who died 2d Nov. 1852, aged 75 years.

138. In memory of MARGARET LAURIE, wife of James Forrester, who died suddenly on the 9th Nov. 1852, aged 62 years.

139. Here are deposited the remains of THOS. BAITY, vinter in Musselburgh, who died 6th Sept. 1816, aged 69 years. Also JANET HOLMES, his spouse, who died 2d March 1820, aged 73 years ; and MARGT. BAITY, their daughter, who died 10th Aug. 1819, aged 29 years.

140. Sacred to the memory of ROBERT MILLAR, late fisherman in Fisherrow, who departed this life Oct. 12, 1813, aged 42 years.

141. Hic jacit JACOBI THOMSON, Faber Calcearius, in Fisherrow, nuper Thesaurarius Musselburghensis, natus erat, 2 Maii 1689 ; mortuus est, 28th Aprilis 1759. MARGARET GIBSON, his spouse, died 7th March 1782, aged 72.

Two of their children, who died young—JAS. THOMSON, clothier in Musselburgh, died 6th Dec. 1792, aged 40. ISABELLA THOMSON, died April 1st, 1804, aged 50. Also CATHREN THOMSON, died 11th Nov. 1809, aged 79 years. Also MARGARET THOMSON, died 3d Jan. 1810, aged 82 years.

142. Here lys DAVID VEITCH, farmer in Musselburgh, who departed this life 18th Feb. 1750, in the 40th year of his age ; and 3 children of David Veitch and Marion Peddie, his spouse, viz., MARGARET, CATHRINE, and JANE.

143. In memory of MARY, an only sister, obt. 14th August 1840, aged 27.

144. Sacred to the memory of Mr WILLIAM GOWAN, late sculptor in Edinburgh, who died 25th January 1828, aged 62 years. His memory will long be deservedly dear to his surviving family, who had the best opportunities of knowing and appreciating his worth. Also in memory of CATHARINE GREIG, his spouse, one of the best of wives and mothers, who died 16th May 1836, aged 58 years.

145. Near this place lies the body of GREZIEL ROSS, wife of David Gowan, in Musselburgh, who departed this life, July the 25th, 1774, aged 66 years.

146. Sacred to the memory of SARAH WILSON MURRAY, spouse of William Walker, merchant, Glasgow, who died at Eskside, Musselburgh, 7th December 1851.

147. Here lyes BESSIE ANNAN, spouse to George Young, wright in

Fisherrow, who dyed the 26 of Jan. 1735, aged 52 years. Also 8 of their children lyes here.

Here lyes the woman that hath shown
All virtues that her sex cou'd own ;
Nor dare my praise too lavish be,
Lest her dust blush, for so would she :
Nature can scarce form such an one,
For, ah! her pattern now is gone.
Reader, if thou hast a tear,
Stop a while and shed it here.

Here lyes GEORGE YOUNG, wright in Fisherrow, who dy'd the 1st May 1747, aged 60 years. Also JAMES YOUNG, merchant in Fisherrow, who dy'd the 15th Jan. 1748, aged 27 years ; and JOHN YOUNG, brewer and farmer in Fisherrow, who dy'd 4th April 1753, aged 36 years. Also ELIZABETH YOUNG, spouse to Robert Handyside, farmer in Whitehill, who dy'd 6th July 1753, aged 32 years.

148. MARGARET COCHRAN of Ashkirk died 18th Oct. 1833.

ARCHIBALD COCHRAN of Ashkirk died 2d June 1841.

149. "The memory of the Just is beloved."

The burial-place of JOHN CHRISTIAN, Esq., late of this parish, and of Mrs JANET FORBES, his granddaughter, daughter of the Rev. William Forbes, Episcopal minister in Musselburgh, and wife of James Skinner, writer in Edinburgh, who died 13th December 1818, aged 74 years. With an excellent understanding, she was pious without affectation, dutiful as a wife, affectionate as a mother ; indeed, she possessed in a pre-eminent degree all the virtues of a consistent Christian.

Also of JEAN VERNOR, his second spouse, who died the 11th of October 1823. And lastly, JAMES SKINNER, who died 10th February 1840, aged 89 years. Also JOHN R. SKINNER, W.S., his son, who died 1st September 1849, aged 63 years.

150. In memory of MARGARET BUCHAN, spouse of John Chalmers of Fisherrow ; died 29th March, 1811, aged 61 years, whose piety and unassuming manner through life made her respected, and her death sincerely regretted. And of the said JOHN CHALMERS, who died 4th August 1829, aged 87 years ; and Mrs ELIZABETH BLYTH or CHALMERS, who died 20th March, 1844, aged 62 years, spouse of Francis Chalmers, his son : and of the said FRANCIS CHALMERS painter, Edinburgh, who died on 12th May 1853, aged 63 years.

151. In memory of ELIZABETH MILLER, wife and cousin of James Paterson, a benevolent, amiable, and excellent woman, who died suddenly on the 8th October 1834, aged 34 years. Also of their four sons and two daughters, being all their family.

Also of JAMES PATERSON, Deputy-Assistant Commissary-General during the service in Egypt, the Peninsula, and at Waterloo, who died on the 25th of December 1854, aged 73 years.

His energy, industry, and integrity, with a high sense of honour, and much kindness of disposition, gained for him general respect and esteem, as well when engaged in the fishing-net manufactory at Musselburgh, the ingenious machinery for which was almost exclusively his own invention.

1. Janet Paterson, sister of James Paterson, died 2d May 1847.
2. Francis W. Haden, born 18th May 1820, died 29th May 1820.
Jessie, born 3d September 1821, died 1st November 1821.
Francis W. Haden, born 19th April 1824, died 1st July 1824.
Eliza, born 10th December 1826, died 30th January 1827.
James, born 12th January 1828, died 8th May 1833.
Hugh, born 8th October 1830, died 12th December 1830.

152. *Erected by his grand-children—"Alexandria, Corunna, Pyrenees."*
Sacred to the memory of Major-General James Stirling, Lieutenant-Governor of Cork, and for forty-two years an officer in the 42d Royal Highlanders. With a wing of that national corps he annihilated the French Invincibles in Egypt, and took their standard with his own hand. He commanded that regiment through the Peninsular war, and after twenty-seven years of foreign service he retired in 1813 into private life, where, cultivating the virtues which adorn the Christian character, he died, full of years and honours, at his villa of Eskbank, 12th December 1834. His remains, borne hither by his veteran companions in arms, are here interred.

[On a scroll are the words "Alexandria," "Corunna," "Pyrenees," the whole surmounted by a sword and hat, and the French standard with eagle, and the word "Lodi," in which battle the Invincibles took part, inscribed upon it. In the Milne inclosure there is an elegant tablet to the memory of Admiral Milne and others of the family.]

Sacred to the memory of James Stirling, captain of the 42d R.H. regiment, who, after a brief but not inglorious military career, departed this life 20th January 1818, aged 25 years and three months. Also of his sister, Joan Stirling, spouse of John Hume, Esq., who died 29th March 1828, aged 43 years.

The former was the only son, and the latter the only daughter, of Major-General James Stirling.

Sacred to the memory of Jean Fisher, relict of Major-General James Stirling; died 12th August 1844, aged 94 years. Also of John Home, lieutenant and paymaster 42d Royal Highlanders, 1795 to 1820. Received the Sultan's gold medal for Egypt, 1801, and the Peninsular war medal, with seven clasps, for Corunna, Salamanca, Pyrenees, Nivelle, Nive, Orthes, and Toulouse; died 13th April 1849, aged 72 years.

153. Sacred to the memory of Edmund Ferguson, Esq., of Baledmund, Perthshire, who died at Inveresk on the 15th July 1817, aged 78.

154. To the memory of Mary Brooks, aged 29 years, who with her niece, Agnes Brooks, aged 15 years, lost their lives while on a pleasure sail in the bay, off the Pease Bridge, Berwickshire, on the 15th May 1819.

> We murmur not nor mourn that thou art gone,
> Beloved daughter! to the realms of rest;
> Since sin and sorrow dwell on earth alone,
> And thou on high hast mingled with the blest.

155. Erected by Alexander Robertson, in memory of Henr. A. Balfour, his mother-in-law, who died 19th July 1822, aged 52 years. Also the said Alexander Robertson, corn-merchant, Joppa, who died 1st January 1851,

aged 58 years; and CATHERINE DARLING, his spouse, who died on the 31st day of August 1853, aged 60 years.

156. Hic situm est quidquie mori potuit viri vere probii THOMÆ COCHRAN, qui quum omnia magistratus in oppido Musselburgho munia sæpuis obeundo eximiam sibi famam tandem q. comparasset in ipso magistratu prid. Cal. Apr. anno Sal. Hum. MDCCXLV, ætat L annis. Eheu! lugendus diem obit.

157. Sacred to the memory of Lieutenant-Colonel JOHN SUTHERLAND SINCLAIR, Royal Artillery, who died at Edinburgh, 12th April 1841, aged 62; and of his eldest son, GEORGE SUTHERLAND SINCLAIR, W.S., who died 18th January 1834, aged 30; and of his daughter, EUPHEMIA MARGARET SINCLAIR, who died 12th October 1836, aged 11; and of his son, THOMAS BUCHAN SINCLAIR, who died 30th April 1838, aged 9. Also of his youngest daughter, NICOLA HELEN MEREDITH SINCLAIR, who died at St Leonards-on-Sea, 24th November 1855, aged 16.

158. Erected in memory of JACOB SANDERSON, Monktonhall, who died 7th November 1831, aged 56 years; and ANN LUMSDEN, his wife, who died 7th October 1825, aged 48 years.

ELIZABETH SANDERSON, their daughter, died 5th March 1848, aged 42 years.

JOHN ROBERTSON, their grandson, died 3d August 1839, aged 3 years.

ISABELLA SANDERSON, their granddaughter, died 19th December 1841, aged 3 years.

MARGARET INGLIS, their daughter-in-law, died 11th May 1851, aged 41 years.

159. Erected to the memory of the dearly-beloved and justly-regretted JEAN AITKEN, who died May 1847, aged 16 years, daughter of Archibald Aitken, merchant, Fisherrow; also her six brethren and sisters, who died young.

160. In memory of MARY BURN, wife of John Gulland, Monktonhall: died the 13th of January 1845, aged 43 years.

161. Sacred to the memory of THOMAS KEDZLIE, flesher in Fisherrow, who died on the 19th January 1836, in the 50th year of his age. His industrious habits, integrity of conduct, and kindness of disposition, will be long remembered by his mourning friends.

162. Sacred to the memory of MARGARET HAMILTON, wife of James Crighton, builder, Edinburgh, who having fulfilled the duties of a virtuous wife and an affectionate mother, a pious Christian and a sincere friend, departed this life on the 18th January 1809, aged 52 years.

BETHEA, their eldest daughter, aged 28 years, and three other children, who died young, are likewise interred here.

JAMES CRIGHTON died 1st October 1824, aged 69.

163. In memory of WALTER RITCHIE, brewer in the Fisherrow, who died 1st February 1748, aged 37 years. Also MARGARET ROBERTSON, his spouse, who died 24th April 1750, aged 36 years. And their only son, WALTER RITCHIE, who died 17th September 1820, aged 74; and his spouse ELIZABETH CARMICHAEL, who died July 1801, aged 57.

164. Erected to the memory of RICHARD HENDERSON, slater and glazier, Musselburgh, who died the 14th October, 1781, aged 55 years.

165. To the memory of JANET RITCHIE, spouse to Robert Duncan, fisherman in Fisherrow, who died 29th July 1835, aged 63 years. She was a loving wife, a tender parent, and a sincere friend.

166. THOMAS GILCHRIST. JAMES GILCHRIST. HELEN LAWSON, his spouse, died on the 30th April 1829, aged 64 years. GEORGE GILCHRIST.

167. Eternity! Eternity!
How long art thou, Eternity!

Erected by the Associate Edinburgh Young Men's Society to the memory of ROBERT WALKER, one of its members, who died at Edinburgh, 27th August 1847, aged 21. Active and intelligent, warm and affectionate, zealous in promoting many a good work, he lived in the esteem of all who knew him, and died in the consolation and hopes of the righteous.

Improve the present time, for all beside
Is a mere feather on a torrent's tide.

His father, Mr WILLIAM WALKER, teacher, Musselburgh, and his mother, ISABELLA ELLIS, are also interred here.

168. In memory of JAMES FORBES, servant, Carberry Hillhead, who died 11th April 1831, aged 66. Also AGNES FORBES, daughter of John Forbes, who died 18th May 1829, aged 2 months. Also MARGARET BARTON, spouse of John Forbes, Biggarshiels, who died 1st November 1834, aged 35 years, much and deeply regretted by all who knew him.

169. In memory of WILLIAM CHARLES, late flesher in Musselburgh, who died 28th August 1804, aged 74 years; and of GRIZZEL CLARK, his spouse, who died 29th August 1831, aged 86 years.

Their daughter, JANET CHARLES, who died 27th July 1813, aged 40 years.

Their daughter, GRACE CHARLES, who died 15th May 1817, aged 38 years.

Their son, ROBERT CHARLES, late flesher in Musselburgh, who died 18th May 1848, aged 67 years.

Their son, HUGH CHARLES, surgeon, Royal Navy, who died 23d Oct. 1849, aged 64 years.

Also, THOMAS, ALEXANDER, and EUPHEMIA, who died in infancy.

170. Here lyes DAVID NISBET, indweller in Fisherrow, who died April 29, 1760, in the 55th year of his age. Also AGNES NAPIER, his spouse, who died Nov. 17, 1782, aged 77 years. Also five of their children.

171. Here lyes ROBERT FALCONER, smith in Musselburgh, born Dec. 15. 1673; dyed Nov. 17th, 1733; and AGNES MOIR, his spouse, dyed August 15th, 1735, in the 69th year of her age; and 3 of their children.

Here lyes the body of SYBILLA HOWISON, spouse to William Falconer, who dyed 14th Feb. 1771, aged 66 years. Also the body of WILLIAM FALCONER, smith in Musselburgh, who departed this life, 23d March 1771, aged 73 years; and 3 of their children.

Here lyes WILLIAM MOIR, smith in Musselburgh, dyed 14 April 1724. LILLIA VEITCH, his spouse, dyed 26th Nov. 1760.

172. Sacred to the memory of Mrs MARY SMYTH, relict of the Rev. Richard Shiell, of Hampstead, Middlesex, who died at Inveresk, 24th Dec. 1837, in the 79th year of her age ; and of THOMAS MILLER SHIELLS, their only son, who died at Fisherrow, 2d Dec. 1838, aged 39 years.

Also of their daughter, REBECCA STONEHARD SHIELLS, who died 27t Feb. 1826, aged 27 years ; and SARAH SAWKINS SHIELLS, who died a Hampstead, 31st Oct. 1855, aged 59 years.

173. In memory of JAMES GOURLAY, mason, died September 17, 1819, aged 24 years. Also ELIZABETH ANDISON, wife of Robert Gourlay, who died 5th February 1833, aged 64 years.

174. Here are interred the remains of MARTIN BEGG, merchant, Musselburgh, who died 22d June 1831, aged 74 years. Also EUPHAN SPENCE, his wife, who died 18th March 1836, aged 73 years. Also ELIZABETH BEGG, their daughter, born 28th Feb. 1797 ; died 16th Dec. 1844. Also MARTIN BEGG, their son, born 15th May 1795 ; died 26th Oct. 1855.

175. Here lyes JOHN KEDZLIE, farmer and brewer in Newbigging, who dyed 3d July 1746, aged 48 years ; and 3 sons and 4 daughters, who died young. And also KATRINE DONALDSON, his spouse, who dyed . . . April 1782, aged 78 years.

176. This stone was erected by Kathrine Binning, in memory of JOHN DAVIDSON, her husband, who died 23d day of August 1778, in the 72d year of his age. Also WM. VALLANCE, nephew of the above Kathrine Binning, who died 20th Nov. 1818, aged 83 ; and MARGARET KEDZLIE, his spouse, who died Oct. 1822, aged 84. Also MARGARET VALLANCE, daughter of Jas. Vallance, their son.

177. Here lyes GEORGE WATSON, baxter and burgess of Musselburgh, who died December 16th, 1708, aged 33 years, and his spouse, ALISON BEGBIE, who died May 2d, 1706 years, aged 19.

178. In memory of WILLIAM DUDGEON, flesher, who died at Leith, 16th Nov. 1847, aged 46 years. In life he was much beloved, and in death deeply and sincerely lamented by all who knew him.

Here lies THOS. COWAN, flesher in Musselburgh, who died Jan. 20th, 1751, aged 27 years. Also JOHN and CATHRINE, children of Thos. Cowan and Ann M'Millan, his spouse, who died young. THOS. COWAN, flesher in Musselburgh, died August 20th, 1782, aged 37. Also MARGARET COWAN, his daughter, who dyed young. THOS. COWAN, flesher in Musselburgh, died 29th April 1807, aged 37. ALEXANDER COWAN, son of John Cowan, candlemaker, freeman and burgess of the city of Edinburgh, who died the 14th April 1809, aged 3 years. MARGARET COWAN died 25th Sept. 1811, aged 37 years. JOHN COWAN died 17th Dec. 1814, aged . . . years.

The burying ground of John Cowan.

179. Here are interred the remains of THOMAS BROWN, merchant, Fisherrow, and MARY WATSON, his spouse. Also the remains of their son, ROBERT BROWN, merchant, Musselburgh, and EUPHEMIA M'MILLAN, his spouse.*

* On the back of this old stone, there is an inscription, the following part of which only is legible :—

Here are interred the remains of ELIZABETH THOMSON, wife of Robert Brown of East Newton, who died 15th May 1848, aged 60.

Here are interred the remains of EUPHEMIA M'MILLAN, spouse of Robert Brown, merchant in Musselburgh, who died 30th May 1825, aged 81 years. A faithful widow and honoured parent. Also those of their son, ROBERT BROWN of Gliston, born 26th March 1769 ; died 18th Oct. 1853.

ROBERT BROWN of Whitsom, Newton, Writer to the Signet, died 28th Dec. 1855.

180. Erected by Jean Grey, in memory of her husband, THOMAS STEVENSON, sivewright, Fisherrow, who died 13th July 1810, aged 70.

"For if we believe that Jesus died and rose again, even so them also which sleep in Jesus will God bring with him."—Thess. iv. 14.

181. Here lyes MARGARET HEMPSTED, spouse to William Hay, Bailie of Musselburgh, who dyed 13th August 1744, aged 58 years.

Here lyes WILLIAM HAY, portioner of Fisherrow, and late Bailie of Musselburgh, who dyed 8th Dec. 1748, aged 61 years.

Here also lyes WILLIAM HAY, clothier and farmer in Fisherrow, and portioner there, who dyed the 13th June 1759, aged 43 years.

182. Here lie the bodies of JOHN RAMSAY, and MARGARET FERGUSON, his spouse, who both died in the year 1759. This stone was erected by Margaret, their eldest daughter, in the year 1809.

183. Near this spot are deposited the remains of Mr CHARLES COMBES, late of Ha-Mille, near Southampton. Quartermaster of the Pembrokeshire Fencible Cavalry, died Sept. 1st, 1797, aged 42. His sister, as a tribute of affection, erected this tablet to the memory of a kind and good brother, . . .

184. Erected by Alexander Aitken, smith, Easter Duddingston, in memory of his wife, MARION ROBERTSON, who died 26th August 1813, aged 25 years, and of his son JOHN, who died 2d March 1814, aged nine months.

185. In memory of RICHARD SANDILANDS, smith, Inveresk ; died 8th October 1853, aged 60. RACHEL MILLER, his wife, died 31st August 1839, aged 54.

186. In memory of JAMES ROBERTSON, smith, Newbigging, Musselburgh, who died 9th March 1851, aged 52 years. Also JOHN ROBERTSON, his son, who died 23d July 1833, aged 2 years ; and daughter and grandson, who died in infancy. Also FRANCES THOMSON, his wife, who died 16th August 1855, aged 56 years.

187. JOHN CARFRAE, smith in Inveresk, died 28th Dec. 1792, aged 52 years. Also MARGARET CARFRAE, his spouse, who died Jan. 30th, 1813, aged 74 ; and three of their children, who died young.

188. Sacred to the memory of MARY SEATTON, spouse to William Reid, who died 27th Jan. 1810, aged 74 years. Also WILLIAM REID, her husband, gardener, who died the 13th March 1810, aged 82 years.

"Here lyes JAMES . . . DREDDEN . . . JAMES DREDDEN and . . . JANET KERSE.

In memory of . . . ROBERT BROWN, shipmaster, Fisherrow, who died 1724. . . . DRYDON, his spouse.

189. Sacred to the memory of WILLIAM REID, earthenware manufacturer, Musselburgh, who died 13th day of Oct. 1835, aged seventy years. Also JOHN REID, his youngest son, who died 25th Feb. 1846, aged 22 years. And MARION REID, aged 7 years; and ISABELLA REID, who died in infancy.

190. Sacred to the memory of ROBT. CAIRD, fisherman in Fisherrow, who died 20th Feb. 1818, aged 64 years.

Through life's perplexing seas,
His course he steer'd
With steady hand;
He all their danger clear'd,
Till anchor'd sure,
When all the storms were o'er;
He's driven, we hope,
Safe on Emmanuel's shore,
Where dangers cease,
And storms assail no more.

191. Interred here HENRY WILLIAMSON, fisher, Fisherrow, who died 17th Oct. 1812, aged 56, sacred to friends, and numerous acquaintances. MARGARET CAIRD, wife to Henry Williamson, died the 2d of April 1810, aged 51. Exemplary as a wife, a mother, and a friend. Also MARGARET WILLIAMSON, their daughter, who died the 4th of April 1813, aged 21 years.

192. Erected in memory of PETER BOURHILL, baker in Musselburgh, died 29th March, 1810, aged 75 years. And JANET HILL, his wife, died 18th Dec. 1805, aged 74 years. Also interred here GEORGE BOURHILL, their son, died 4th May 1836, aged 73 years. ISABELLA MOFFAT, his wife, died 30th March 1814, aged 33 years. Three of their children, who died in infancy. PETER BOURHILL, their son, died 18th Dec. 1838, aged 32 years. ISABELLA BOURHILL, their daughter, died 12th Nov. 1847, aged 35 years. ALISON BOURHILL, their daughter, and wife of Andrew Balfour, died 20th July 1850.

193. Sacred to the memory of THOMAS BERRY, Esq. of Brotherston, late one of the Magistrates of Musselburgh, who died the 12th January 1776. Also MARGARET WATSON, his spouse, who died the 12th July 1803, aged 79 years. WILLIAM SCOTT, died on the 17th December 1834. Also his son, JAMES SCOTT, who died 22d September 1849.

194. The burying-ground of James, William, and Robert Millar, fishers, Fisherrow, 1827.

195. JOHN CATHIE, merchant in Musselburgh, died on the 12th of Oct. 1793, aged 48 years. MARION SIMPSON, his spouse, died on the 5th of July 1791, aged 46 years. Nine of their children died when young, and are also interred here. Also JEAN SCARTH, wife of Peter Cathie, timber merchant, Fisherrow, who died 18th Sept. 1814, aged 29. PETER CATHIE, merchant, Fisherrow, died 28th March 1821, aged 40 years; and his remains are interred here.

196. Sacred to the memory of JANET MILLAR, spouse of John Clark, junr., mason, Fisherrow, who died 29th August 1826, aged 29 years.

Afflictions sore, long time I bore,
Physicians were in vain;

Till God at length did call me hence,
And eas'd me of my pain.

Died also his son, aged one year and five months. Also MARGARET MOIR, spouse of John Clark, who died at Musselburgh, 16th December, 1638.

1854.

197. Erected by Francis Croll, merchant, Fisherrow, in memory of his wife, EUPHEMIA BAIRD, died 27th October 1846, aged 53 years. CATHRINE CROLL, died 30th Oct. 1827, aged 9 years. FRANCIS CROLL, junr., engraver, died 12th Feb. 1854, aged 27 years.

Burying ground, John Hart.

198. Sacred to the memory of JOHN HART, flesher, Fisherrow, who died 28th May 1842, aged 51 years; and of ANNE PORTEOUS, his spouse, who died 15th January 1843, aged 47 years. Also ANNE, their daughter, who died 15th May 1835, aged 10 years; and JOAN, their daughter, who died 23d Sept. 1838, aged 4½ years.

Rest—while affection oft will drop the tear,
Till fate shall summon us to join you there.

199. ELIZABETH NISBET, died 19th May 1854.

200. Sacred to the memory of JOHN THOMSON, late Captain of the 69th Regiment of Foot, who died 31st Oct. 1823, aged 82 years.

201. This is the burying ground of Captain Ramsay, R.N.

DAVID RAMSAY, Esq., Post-Captain in the Royal Navy, died 18th Nov. 1818, aged 68.

MARY, relict of Captain Ramsay, R.N., eldest daughter of John Macleod of Macleod, died 8th August 1829, aged 77.

The remains of ELIZA ISABELLA, daughter of Major Sinclair, R.A., rest here, died 18th June 1815, in her ninth year. Also of FRANCIS, wife of Major Sinclair, R.A., daughter of Capt. D. Ramsay, R.N., died 20th Jan. 1823, aged 27.

Deposited here are the remains of LOUISA, wife of J. H. Home, Esq., of Longformacus, daughter of Captain Ramsay, R.N., died 3d June 1823.

Here are interred the remains of ANNE, second daughter of Captain and Mrs Ramsay, who died 17th October 1830. Also of MARY EMILIA, their eldest daughter, the last survivor of their family, who died 10th March 1834.

Here are deposited the remains of MARY EMILIA, wife of W. Norman Ramsay, Captain in the Royal Horse Artillery, eldest daughter of Lieut.-General Macleod of Macleod. Died 10th August 1809.

The remains of CATHERINE RAMSAY, daughter of Captain, R.N., are here interred. Died 4th October 1844.

DAVID RAMSAY, Lt. R.N., 4th son of Capt. Ramsay, died on the Jamaica station July 1815, aged 22 years.

The remains of ANNE CUMMING, relict of Wm. Ramsay, Esq. of Temple Hall, are here interred. Died 13th May 1810.

JOHN RAMSAY, Lt. R.N., 2d son of Capt. Ramsay, died on the Leeward Island Station, May 1807, aged 19 years.

Sacred to the memory of Major WILLIAM NORMAN RAMSAY, of the Royal Horse Artillery, eldest son of Captain David Ramsay, Royal Navy; who, having served throughout the various campaigns in Holland, Egypt, Portugal, Spain, and France, from the year 1799, and distinguished himself in all, fell at the battle of Waterloo on the 18th of June 1815, aged 33. His remains, preserved through the affection of his brother officers and the support of his troop, were, to fulfil his own wish, removed to this place, and laid beside those of his beloved wife.

ALEXANDER RAMSAY, Lieutenant in the Royal Artillery, third son of Captain Ramsay, R.N., gallantly fell in the batteries before New Orleans, on the 1st of January 1815, in his 24th year.

203. ROBERT VERNOR died 6th Nov. 1809, aged 80 years. Also JEAN BROUNLIE, his spouse, died 25th July 1810, aged 76 years.

204. Sacred to the memory of Major ROBERT VERNOR, late of the Scots Greys, in which distinguished corps he served upwards of thirty years. Died 10th August 1827, aged 64 years.

And of ELIZABETH VERNOR, his spouse, who died the 10th April 1838, aged 75 years. Also of CHARLOTTE THOMSON GILLON, spouse of James Vernor, who died 3d July 1856, aged 46 years, beloved and respected by all who knew her.

205. Sacred to the memory of AGNES BOYLE, wife of Charles Stewart; died 1st June 1824, aged 38 years. Also AGNES STEWART, her daughter, who died at Melbourne, N.S.W., 17th February 1841, aged 24 years. Also of CHARLES STEWART, of Sweethope, died 13th October 1854, aged 73 years.

ALISON DOUGLAS, wife of Charles Stewart, died 18th March 1789.

CHARLES STEWART, of Sweethope, died 21st December 1826, aged 74 years.

JANE STEWART died 17th July 1851, aged 71 years.

206. Sub hoc lapide situs est JOANNES TAYLOR, puer eximia spe, filius unicus Joannis Taylor, armigeri, et Agathiæ Coutts, cujus immaturam mortem (obiit Novem. tantum annos natus xvi calend. Novembres) mœstissimi parentes nunc. Eheu! progenie orbati, lugent et lugebunt. Anno MDCCLXXXII.

Hic etiam situs est juxta filium pater JOANNES TAYLOR, qui diro conflictatus morbo, et tandem fatis succumbens, magnum sui desiderium apud amicos reliquit. Anno ætatis xlix, mensis Januarii xviii, MDCCLXXXV.

207. Hic in Duncanorum sepulturæ loco inhumata jacet MARGARETA DUNCAN, ROBERTI LITSTERII, notarii, Musselburghen., uxor quæ mulium deplorata decessit 15 Sept. 1690, æt 29–30.

Casta modesta gravis cubat hic sine vulnere famæ fœmina spectatis atq. side.

208. Here are deposited the remains of JANET MILLER, widow of John Gairdner, Esq., younger of North Tarrie. She died July 1st, MDCCXXXII, aged 56 years.

Mary Miller, her sister, widow of Lieutenant James Paterson, erected this monument in . . . . . .

209. This stone is erected by Mrs Eleanora Patten, to the memory of her affectionate husband, Captain THOMAS PATTEN, Paymaster of the 7th Dragoon Guards, who departed this life on the 28th September 1805, aged 67 years.

210. Here lie the remains of Captain JOHN CAMPBELL, late of her Majesty's 22d Regiment of Foot, and of MARY PLIDDEL, his spouse. He was nephew to the first Duke of Argyle, and cousin-german to his son, the great and worthy JOHN; but distinguished not more by his lineage than by an honourable discharge of the duties of his profession, by mild and amiable disposition, and by a conduct becoming a steady friend and an honest man. He died on the 11th day of November 1783, in the 70th year of his age.

[The foregoing comprise, with perhaps one or two exceptions, the entire legible inscriptions in the churchyard. They will be interesting to relatives and others at a distance, and may prove serviceable to the genealogist. The reading on some of the stones is wholly effaced, and on several very much decayed. Many of the places of sepulture are well enclosed, and not a few of the monuments, obelisks, and tablets are very creditable specimens of art. The ground, though not laid off in the style of our modern cemeteries, is kept in good order.]

James Paterson (1805-1876), author of this work, was, surprisingly perhaps, not a Musselburgh man, nor had he any close ties with the Burgh. He was a literary figure 'popular rather than scholarly', best remembered for the biographies accompanying Kay's famous caricatures for the classic 'Edinburgh Portraits'. Paterson was born in Ayrshire and first trained as a printer, moving on to become involved in the setting up of the 'Kilmarnock Chronicle', a short-lived newspaper born in the controversy leading up to the Great Reform Act of 1832. Paterson moved to Edinburgh to work on Kay's 'Portraits'; and subsequently became editor of the 'Ayr Observer'. Here he wrote in 1840 'Contemporaries of Burns and More Recent Poets of Ayrshire' and in 1847 'History of the County of Ayr'. His literary ambition led him to return to Edinburgh, where he supported himself as a writer on Scottish history and biography, including this work, published in 1857.

He published a volume of 'Autobiographical Reminiscences' in 1871.

'History of the Regality of Musselburgh' draws extensively on the official town records, to which Paterson had access. He chose, he said, "only such passages as might be curious or useful". At the same time the book is full of interesting and vivid anecdotes, quotations, verses and stories culled from a wide variety of sources. Together they give a detailed and unique insight into Musselburgh history.

Remploy acknowledges the kind assistance of the Librarian and staff of East Lothian District Library in the preparation of this edition.

Cover Illustration by kind permission of the Honest Toun's Association, Musselburgh.

I.S.B.N. 07066 0932-8